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HEADQUARTERS OFFICES AT 155 EAST SUPERIOR ST., CHICAGO

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Selections from Our Mailbag)

Local Government Problems in Italy.—Odon Por, author of "Fascisti," writes from Florence: "We are all muddled up with our local and provincial administration and their relations to the State . . . nor do we know how to harmonize modern efficiency in local administration with old traditions of local independence." For answer we sent copies of our pamphlets on local government. At this time of reorganization in Italy there is opportunity for the adoption of modern methods that may be adapted to traditional habits.

*

Tokyo Library.—We have this month answered the call to assist in re-establishing the library of the University of Tokyo by sending copies of all of our books and pamphlets in addition to a complete file of our magazines.

*

Libraries of Hungary.—The American Library Association has asked on behalf of the Hungarian Libraries' Board that we send to Hungary copies of all of our pamphlets and a complete file of our magazines at reduced rates, since the exchange makes purchase at usual rates prohibitive. Needless to say, we are filling the order.

*

Stirring Interest in County Government?—The question mark signifies we are trying to stir interest or have sown the seed, but are not at all confident of success. We have this month sent 1,048 copies of *Ramshackle County Government* (the seed) to members of the state legislatures now in session and to newspapers in the same states. If the members of the state legislatures do not prove open to suggestion, surely some of the newspapers will at least talk.

*

Suggesting Administrative Consolidation in Five States.—The time is ripe for certain states to work out economy measures by reorganizing their administrative departments. We have, therefore, placed a pamphlet on this subject in the hands of every member of the selected state legislatures, and a copy also in the hands of editors of every leading newspaper in the same states. Once more we are not any too hopeful of the legislators taking immediate action, but we count on the power of suggestion and the newspaper editors doing some effective talking.

*

We Strive to Guide Civic Emotion.—As the spirit of reform runs high in mid-winter, we are this month sending out to leading civic organizations throughout the country 2,500 pamphlets on city planning, hoping thus to harness the reform spirit to one of the most popular and practical of reform measures—a sound city plan.

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Through the generosity of our treasurer the broad distribution of pamphlets outlined above has been made possible.

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CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE MUNICI- PALITIES OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

BY L. S. ROWE

Director General of the Pan American Union

*A proposal that the National Municipal League broaden its activities
in co-operation with municipalities to the south of us. :: :: ::*

ED. NOTE: This is the abstract of an address delivered before a joint session of the annual meetings of the National Municipal League and the Governmental Research Association, Washington, D. C., November 15.

ONE of the outstanding facts in the recent political development of the countries of Latin America is the growing appreciation of the importance of strengthening municipal organizations and activities. They appreciate as we appreciate the fact that the daily life, the standard of comfort and, in fact, the social and economic development of the country are affected much more closely by the character and efficiency of its municipal institutions than by any other factor in national life.

The recent improvements in municipal organization in the United States have aroused wide-spread interest throughout Latin America and have given rise to a no less marked desire for a well-organized interchange of experience, in order that every

municipality on the American continent may benefit by the experience of its sister cities.

Unless I am much mistaken, there is a wide-spread feeling in the United States that our municipal experience carries with it many lessons to Latin America, but that we have little to learn from Latin-American cities. This is far from being the case. From the point of view of what may be called the social and artistic activities of organized government, the Latin-American cities have much to teach us, for they have never permitted the haphazard building development which has characterized our American cities. In the matter of civic planning the laying out of parks, the construction of public buildings and the beautifying of water fronts, the larger cities of Latin America are far in advance of most of our American communities.

The extension of the sphere of action of the National Municipal League so as to include Pan-American

co-operation in the solution of municipal problems will constitute a real forward step in the development of closer relations between the republics of the American continent. The recent International Conference of American States, usually referred to as the Pan-American Conference, which assembled at Santiago, Chile, in March last, recognized the importance of this movement by adopting a resolution recommending that the governments of the American continent facilitate in every possible way the establishment of closer ties between the municipalities of North, Central and South America, and that they foster the interchange of data and experience in order that each municipality may profit by the successes as well as by the failures of its sister cities.

The specific proposals which I would like to submit for consideration are:

1. That the National Municipal League place itself in touch with civic organizations in Latin America whose purpose it is to foster civic progress.
2. That there be established in the National Municipal League a Pan-American Bureau of Information which will furnish to municipalities throughout the American continent data relative to municipal improvements and will serve as a clearing house of information to which officials throughout the American continent may have recourse.
3. That the publications of the National Municipal League give some attention to the municipal progress of the great Latin-American cities.
4. That at some time in the near future a Pan-American Conference on Government and Civic Progress be held either in the United States or in one of the Latin-American countries.

ILLUMINATION OR ADVERTISEMENT?

BY J. HORACE McFARLAND

President, American Civic Association

An answer to the question, How much light should be provided on business and residence streets? (Adapted from a letter to H. H. Franklin, of Syracuse, N. Y., written in reply to his inquiries.) ::

SOME years ago there was a very careful discussion in the city of Milwaukee on the distribution of light on streets, and the discussion, instituted by an unusually acute city engineer, was backed up by experiments and what are known as foot-candle measurements. The idea was an even low illumination on the public streets. When the Washington lighting was changed over some years ago, a rather careful study was made there.

THE SCIENCE OF ILLUMINATION

Stated simply without going into the minutely technical part of it, it would come to something like this:

1. The human eye does have a controlling iris mechanism something like the iris diaphragm in a photographic lens, and resembling the iris of a cat's eye in everything except quickness of action. This human iris diaphragm reacts rather promptly to the strongest source of light, but does not instantly accommodate itself as does the cat's eye to a changed source of light. Thus if you look directly at the sun or at an arc light and quickly turn away, everything away from the light is darkened for you because your eye has not accommodated itself to the sudden change.

If at your home a dinner is given and

the table is illuminated by shaded candles, of which there may be a half dozen or a dozen, you find that through this accommodation of the eye this very restricted illumination, in whole hardly equalling in foot candles the light from one ordinary incandescent bulb, is altogether sufficient for carrying on the affairs of the dinner.

But if in this softly and agreeably illuminated room you turn loose one unshaded Tungsten light to which the eye is attracted, immediately the candle illumination becomes unsatisfactory because the eye has endeavored to accommodate itself to the intense brilliance of the Tungsten filament.

2. Thus there are grades of illumination to which the human eye adapts itself, but it is always true that the adaptation is to the higher source of illumination. In Washington the lighting was carried out so that all the lights visible on a street were of the same grade. The manager of the Shoreham Hotel told me that when he was required to take away his brilliant lights in front of the Shoreham he was bothered until he found that he had better lighting and less expense.

In the Milwaukee experiment an attempt was made to provide a relatively even and soft illumination which would broadly have the effect of a candle-lighted interior. It was not considered necessary that "the finest print could be read anywhere on a business or residence street," but it was considered necessary to restrain ultra-bright lights privately provided which would destroy the soft and uniform quality of the city's lights.

INFLUENCE OF ONE BRILLIANT LIGHT

3. Now if you will put together these statements you will note this: If on the public street a private person is permitted to display, for example, one unshaded arc lamp or similar source of

intense brilliance, not only the city's lights but all other private lights must be pushed up to meet this one-ultra-brilliant light. There is then an enormous waste of electrical energy wholly unnecessary for illumination and distinctly disadvantageous to the human eye. The electric light companies would not agree with me because they have current to sell, but it is a fact that if illumination is the only purpose and not advertising or the sale of light (not illumination, please note), most of our city streets could be made far more agreeable to live on, work on and do business on than they are now at about half the cost for current though at greater cost for distribution.

4. A good method of arriving at a proper distribution is what is known as the shadow test. Start at a light source or lamp-post, walking away from it, and you will notice how your shadow lengthens out before you. If you walk toward another source of light you will come to a point where the shadows meet. If it is nearest the second source of light the distribution is uneven. The ideal condition would be such a distribution as would not show any strong shadows, but this is virtually impossible.

Setting up ideals for illumination, I may hazard the statement that on a business street it is desirable to have it so that one can readily see everything on the streets and sidewalks and with safety cross the street. In a residence street a lower scale of illumination will be satisfactory, but every part of the street, under the trees as well as in the open, should be illuminated for safety and comfort.

Carrying out this plan of ideals you will note that any unshaded source of light of extreme brilliance is altogether wrong and unfortunate, whether it be publicly or privately provided. It is *illumination* that is wanted, not light,

and it is better if the source of light appears only as an incident to the illumination which results from proper distribution. For an example look into a store window in which the unshaded electric bulbs are the source of an attempt at illumination. It will be difficult to see the things there exposed to light, because the eye insensibly turns to and is dazzled by the source of light. Contrast this, if you please, with a window illuminated from above but with the source of light invisible. You see the goods displayed to the greatest advantage if the work has been well carried on.

5. The question has been asked as to whether it is necessary that "the maximum light be provided from sunset to sunrise." It seems wise to provide an even amount of light during the period of illumination, but whether the light is graduated or held to the same standard it will during the twilight seem to be inadequate. The total

amount of light possible to provide electrically at night is so infinitesimal in comparison with the light of the sun, that the transition from one to the other always gives a sense of darkness.

To illustrate this, on some sunny day draw the shades in your living room, turn on all the electric lights and walk in from the outer sunshine. You will discover that the lights, entirely adequate in the evening, only punctuate the gloom in the daytime. This is, of course, because of eye accommodation.

The amount and distribution of light to be provided on the streets of any city, therefore, depend altogether on whether illumination only is desired, or whether the taxpayers are willing to provide a large amount of unnecessary light upon the public streets in order to meet the advertising electrical displays, either public or private, which not very agreeably distinguish "Main Street" in much of America.

HOW CLEVELAND'S FIRST PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION BALLOTS WERE COUNTED

BY HELEN M. ROCCA

Department of Efficiency in Government, National League of Women Voters

The technique of the count explained by one who participated in it.

THE first steps in the official count of the proportional representation ballots in Cleveland's first election under its new city charter were taken in the basement of the Public Auditorium on Thursday, November 8 last. Preparations for conducting the count such as the adoption of a systematic plan, the purchase of equipment, and the training of a corps of workers had, however,

been under way for some time. An account of the methods used to tabulate the count must therefore go back to a period which antedates the time at which the official count actually began.

THE PRELIMINARIES

Although there had been considerable discussion and the formulation of some general plans at an earlier date, it

was not until October that the plan adopted by the board of elections for conducting the count began to crystallize. Upon the adoption of this plan, the necessary equipment was ordered and definite steps were taken to train the workers who were to assist in making the count. For the latter purpose six evening classes were held during October and the first week in November, at which opportunities to become familiar with the principles of proportional representation as well as with the equipment and the methods to be used in the official count, were offered. Each worker was summoned to appear at one of these classes, which were held in the offices of the board of elections, and from the groups thus trained the one hundred and ninety-seven workers in the final count were chosen. Each person who attended a class was paid \$2.50 for his time. The equipment had been purchased by the time the classes were held and ballots which had already been marked in a supposed election (the candidates being popular baseball players) were used. An official count of a miniature proportional representation election was thus conducted in order that the workers might be given such experience as would fit them for the final count.

The usual unofficial count had been made in the precincts Tuesday evening after the polls closed, after which the ballots were transferred from the precinct booths to the offices of the board of elections, where the unofficial tabulation of the board began about 11 P.M., Tuesday, and continued through Wednesday. In this election, the precinct count, so far as the proportional representation ballots were concerned, consisted of segregating the ballots according to the first choices expressed, placing them in the envelopes bearing the name of the candidate to whom they belonged, and finally

placing all of the envelopes (sealed) in a larger envelope, sealed and marked with the ward number and the precinct letter. All invalid ballots or ballots in which there was a question of validity were placed in a separate envelope.

The workers were summoned to appear in the Exhibition Hall of the Public Auditorium at 8.30 A.M., Thursday, November 8, and although most of them were in their places at that hour, it was actually much later when the count began. Shortly after ten o'clock, the huge sacks containing the ballots (in the sealed envelopes) were wheeled in on trucks. At about the same time the wooden containers (one large and one small one for each candidate), numbering machines, pencils, rubber stamps bearing the names of the candidates, dividers, record sheets, etc., were placed in order. The charter provides that "the candidates or their agents, representatives of the press, and, so far as may be consistent with good order and with convenience in the counting and transferring of the ballots, the public shall be afforded every facility for being present and witnessing these operations." For the benefit of spectators, part of the hall was therefore divided off from that part occupied by persons engaged in the count. Only persons assisting in the count were allowed within the latter space and the entrance to it was at all times guarded by two policemen.

FOUR DISTRICTS COUNTED SIMULTANEOUSLY

The new charter divides the city into four large districts for the purpose of electing councilmen, and provides that "the counting of the ballots cast in each district shall . . . be carried on by a central counting board for each such district, appointed by the central election authorities and acting under their direction." The count for each

district was therefore conducted separately (and simultaneously) by a district chairman, who in each case was an employee of the board of elections, with one member of the board being assigned to each district and exercising general supervision over the count in that district. Mr. George H. Hallett, Jr., assistant secretary of the Proportional Representation League, acted as the official adviser to the board of elections during the count. Mr. Hallett came to Cleveland early in October and offered many valuable suggestions both before and during the count. Each district also had an expert accountant and a "blackboard man."

It may be well to state that the writer was assigned to the fourth district and that in general the following description is of the count in that district, although except in the most minor details, it applies to the count in any of the other three districts.

FIRST CHOICES CHECKED

The first operation of the official count was that of verifying the returns of the precinct officers. In this stage of the count the workers stood or sat at tables, each worker handling the ballots of one candidate. The workers were arranged in alphabetical order according to the names of the candidates. The precinct envelopes had previously been arranged by ward and in alphabetical order on the floor at one side, and, as each precinct envelope was opened, the smaller envelopes inside were passed to the workers, each worker being given the envelope which bore the name of the candidate for whom he was acting as tally clerk. The worker then opened the envelope, took out the ballots and checked them to see if he had any ballots which did not belong to him—either because of their being invalid or being marked with a first choice for some other candidate—

counted them, and determined if the number tallied with the number marked on the envelope by the precinct officials. Any changes in the precinct returns were noted on the candidate's envelope and, in case of doubt as to the validity of a ballot, the question was referred to the district chairman. In the instructions sent to the tabulators (with the official summons to appear for duty) the board of elections had said that "so far as may be consistent with the general election laws, every ballot from which the first choice of the voter can be clearly ascertained shall be considered valid. An invalid ballot is one from which the first choice of the voter cannot be determined." Very careful consideration was given by the district chairman to any ballot over which a question of validity arose, and it is the writer's impression that an absolutely just decision was made in each case. The rule had also been made that "a single X in the absence of a figure 1 should be counted as a first choice. If a ballot contains a single figure 1 and one or more X's besides, count the figure 1 as the first choice. If there are two or more X's on a ballot without a figure 1, or two or more 1's, count the ballot invalid."

After the envelopes for each precinct had all been checked, the district chairman or his representative took the summary sheet for that precinct and checked up the results of the tabulator's count by calling the name of the candidate, the tabulator responding with the number of ballots in his envelope. Any changes were noted on the precinct summary sheets. The workers then placed their envelopes face up in the large, narrow, wooden containers standing directly behind the work tables and marked with the candidates' names. Since the precinct envelopes were arranged in alphabetical order, and since the first envelope

used in verifying the precinct returns was the last envelope in the ward with the highest number, when this operation was completed the envelope of the first precinct was therefore on top and the whole number was arranged in order. As the verification of the precinct count progressed, other workers were examining the envelopes containing the ballots regarded by the precinct officials as invalid or in doubt. As valid ballots were discovered, they were transferred to the correct envelope and the changes were noted. Two of the four districts finished the official review of the precinct count on Friday, and the other two on Saturday. The staff worked seven hours a day on week days, and six hours on Sunday. They were paid \$5 a day for their services.

The next step was that of numbering the ballot of each candidate with the consecutive numbering machines provided for that purpose. In performing the remaining operations, the workers sat at tables directly behind the huge blackboard—two hundred and four feet in length—which had been divided into four sections, one for each district, and in the proper section had printed upon it the names of the candidates in the district in question. The board also contained for each district, columns providing for forty different counts, spaces for the quota, for the number of ineffective ballots, and for the candidates whose names were written in. At the tables (two rows for each district) the workers were provided with smaller wooden containers for the ballots, consecutive numbering machines, dividers to separate the ballots received in one transfer from those received in the others, pencils, rubber stamps bearing the candidates' names and tally sheets to keep records of each transfer. The ballots were taken from the envelopes and stamped in the space to the right of the first

name on the ballot (the names on the ballots were, of course, rotated), and the tally clerks were cautioned to count the ballots once again as they stamped them, thus providing a double check. The ballots were then placed in the containers, the last number was taken as the total number of first-choice votes for a given candidate, and these figures were written on the large sheets kept for the official records of the board of elections. When the total figure obtained in this way had been made (by correcting any errors) to tally with the figure obtained as the total on the precinct summary sheets, the total number of valid ballots was recorded on the blackboard and the quota was then obtained. The quota was, of course, obtained in the usual way, by dividing the total number of valid ballots cast by the number of seats to be filled plus 1, disregarding the fraction, and taking the next largest whole number.

TRANSFERS BEGIN

Four persons—one in the first district, one in the third, and two in the fourth—reached their quotas on first-choice votes. In all but the second district, therefore, the next step was that of transferring the surplus ballots according to the next choice marked on the ballots. In the second district, the candidate with the smallest number of first-choice votes was immediately eliminated and his ballots were distributed according to the second choices expressed. In taking away the surplus ballots in the other districts, the charter provides that "the particular ballots to be taken for transfer as the surplus of a candidate shall be obtained by taking as nearly an equal number of ballots as possible from the transferable ballots that have been cast for him in each of the voting precincts. All such surplus ballots shall be taken as they happen to come without selection." Small boxes

or pigeonholes were provided for the distribution of the surpluses and for the ballots of eliminated candidates, the ballots being placed in them by distributors. The ballots were then taken from the small boxes by the runners and taken to the tally clerk of the candidate to whom they belonged. The tally clerk numbered them with his numbering machine—continuing, of course, with the next number after the last one he had reached in stamping the first-choice ballots—the number being placed immediately beneath that of the number previously stamped on the ballot, and then the ballot was stamped with the name of the candidate to whom it was transferred. In this way the actual record of each transfer of a ballot was on the ballot itself, and if any question arose, the history of the ballot could be learned immediately. After each transfer the tally clerk recorded on his record sheet in the spaces provided: (1) the number of ballots which his candidate then had, and (2) the number of ballots which he gained by the transfer. He then placed the ballots in the wooden containers, with the proper divider (the dividers were marked with the numbers of the counts) on top.

The district chairman or his representative then passed down the aisle behind the tally clerks and called off the name of each candidate, followed by the number of ballots he had gained in the transfer. These figures were recorded on the official blanks and then the totals were added on the adding machine. Each district had one adding machine with an operator, the machines and operators having been loaned by a local office supply store. It was, of course, necessary for the total number of ballots gained to tally with the number of ballots transferred. As one naturally would expect, occasionally someone made an

error—a numbering machine skipped when the clerk was not alert, or an error in subtraction was made on the clerk's record sheet—and it was necessary to trace it and correct it. Such errors, however, were infrequent and as the count proceeded and the workers became familiar with their work were almost eliminated. When the figures checked—and not before—the standing of each candidate was recorded on the blackboard, following his name and in the proper column for that particular count. Each district was provided with a tall ladder and a blackboard man—the necessary qualifications being a good reach and the rare ability to make well-rounded figures—who recorded the figures after each count. The blackboard was arranged to show whose ballots were being transferred in each case, and, when a candidate was eliminated, a circle in red chalk was marked around the number of ballots he had at the time. After the surplus ballots had been transferred, the count proceeded in each district with the elimination of the candidate having the smallest number of ballots at the time. As soon as one transfer had been made so that it was possible to determine the candidate next to be eliminated, the transfer of his ballots was begun, and the count proceeded in the manner already described.

The second district, where there were twenty candidates from whom five councilmen were to be elected, and the third district, where there were eighteen candidates with six councilmen to be elected, finished the entire count on Sunday. The first and fourth districts, each electing seven councilmen, finished on Tuesday morning. There were thirty-eight candidates in the first and forty-three candidates in the fourth district. The first district finished on the thirty-second count; the

second on the fifteenth count; the third on the thirteenth count; and the fourth on the thirty-eighth count. It may be interesting to note that in addition to the four persons who were elected on first-choice votes, only six others reached their quotas. In the second district no one reached the quota, in the first district three did, in the third district four, and in the fourth district, three. It should be remembered, of course, that when the point was reached where there were only two candidates left in the running, the low candidate was eliminated and the other declared elected without transferring the transferable ballots to him.

THE COST

Although the bookkeeper of the board of elections reports some minor bills still outstanding at this writing, in round numbers the total cost of the election—including equipment, rent of the hall, salaries to all employees, etc.—will be \$25,000. Of this \$25,000, \$5,000 was paid for the rent of the Exhibition Hall in which the count was conducted, \$5,467.50 was paid in salaries to workers during the count, and \$1,020 was paid in salaries to those attending the evening training schools for workers. It should be remembered that the equipment used was of a permanent character—in fact, so permanent in character as to have drawn forth criticism on the part of some who believed that in several instances much

less expensive equipment could have been used. The cost of the equipment should not, therefore, all be charged to the expenses of this one count, but should be spread over the cost of a number of counts in coming elections, provided the proportional representation provisions in the charter are retained.

CONCLUSIONS

It is not the purpose of this article to draw any general conclusions about the election. The attempt has only been made to tell exactly what happened during those five and one-half days when the official count was being made. It might, however, not be out of place to add that there was some dissatisfaction—especially early in the count—with the way in which it was being conducted. There were some who considered the methods and equipment too expensive, the classes for the training of workers unnecessary, the delay during the first morning unjustified, and the facilities for spectators and candidates to observe the count inadequate. When the count was completed, however, the consensus of opinion seems to have been, not only that the council elected under the new system was the best in years, but that the count had in general been conducted with accuracy, with as much speed as accuracy made possible, and that the achievement was one of which, with some few exceptions, the board of elections may justly be proud.

TORONTO MUNICIPAL TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

BY R. FRASER ARMSTRONG, A.M.E.I.C.

Staff Member, Citizens' Research Institute of Canada

Toronto has had more than two years' experience with municipal operation. You will be interested in this impartial analysis of her experience. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

At the annual municipal elections held by the Corporation of the City of Toronto on January 1, 1920, the electors who were qualified to vote on money by-laws, by a large majority, gave their approval of the following considerations:

(1) The operation of the Toronto Railway System by a commission of three ratepayers resident in the municipality, to be appointed by the city council and to act without salary.

(2) The city's applying for legislation enabling it to borrow money without a further vote of the electors to acquire the property of the Toronto Railway Company which the city is entitled to take over under the agreement between the city and the company and for the purpose of the transportation commission and to make arrangements for the operation thereof.

TORONTO TRANSPORTATION COMMISSION

As a result of the above vote, application was made to the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, whereby legislation would be enacted which would authorize the corporation of the city of Toronto to establish a commission under the name of "The Toronto Transportation Commission." Legislation providing for this commission was assented to June 4, 1920. Its personnel and powers may be briefly described as follows:

Personnel. (1) The commission to consist of three (3) members, as appointed by the city council, and to serve for three (3) years and to be paid such salary or other remuneration as

may be fixed by council. (The commissioners to date have served without remuneration.)

(2) No member of the city council is eligible for appointment as a member of the commission.

Powers. (1) The commission to be entrusted with the control, maintenance, operation and management of the Toronto Railway Company upon its acquisition by the city, the Civic Lines, and any other railways that the city may, from time to time, acquire.

(2) The city may at any time entrust to the commission the construction, control, maintenance, operation and management of lines of motor buses, or subways, or tubes, or of any method of underground or local overhead transportation. (This has been done.)

(3) The commission to consider generally all matters relative to local transportation in Toronto.

(4) The commission to construct, control, maintain, operate and manage new lines of street railway.

(5) The commission to fix such tolls and fares that *the revenue shall be sufficient to make all transportation facilities under its control and management self-sustaining, after providing for such maintenance, renewals, depreciation and debt charges as it shall think proper.*

(6) The commission to requisition for money necessary to carry out its powers and duties, but nothing herein

contained to divest the city council of its authority with reference to the providing of money for such purposes.

(7) The commission to furnish the city annually an operating and financial statement and keep the books at all times open for inspection by the audit department of the city.

The legislation also authorized the council of the city of Toronto, without submitting same to the qualified electors, to pass a by-law or by-laws, from time to time, for the issue of "City of Toronto Consolidated Loan Debentures" for such sum or sums as may be deemed necessary by the council for the following purposes:

(a) To acquire such property of the Toronto Railway Company as the corporation was entitled to take over.

(b) To provide and pay for such plant, equipment and other facilities as may be necessary in anticipation of the taking over by the corporation of the property of the Toronto Railway Company, and to meet such other expenditure as might be necessary in making arrangements for the operation of the property when acquired.

(c) To provide the commission with moneys, with which to construct new lines or extensions, to provide rolling stock and equipment, erect buildings, acquire lands and otherwise carry out the provisions of the enacted legislation.

STREET RAILWAY SYSTEMS PREVIOUS TO SEPTEMBER, 1921

Previous to the acquisition of the Toronto Railway Company, the following four systems of street railways were operating in the city:

- I. Toronto Railway.
- II. Toronto Civic Railway (four divisions—each charging a separate fare—owned and operated by city of Toronto).
- III. Toronto & York Radial (three separate divisions, each charging a separate fare).
- IV. Toronto Suburban Railway.

The Toronto Railway Company served an area of 17 square miles, the cash fare was five cents with regular and limited tickets, at reduced rates. It gave, in addition, a free transfer on its lines. A board of arbitration—by majority vote—has named \$11,188,500 plus interest at 5 per cent as the purchase value of this railway system. This award has been appealed by both the city and by the Toronto Railway Company.

The Toronto Civic Railway supplied service in the districts beyond those reached by the Toronto Railway or other private line. The fare charged was cash 2 cents or 6 tickets for 10 cents. No transfers were given between the different divisions.

The Toronto and York Radial Railway supplied suburban service in the areas lying north, east and west of the city. A separate fare of 5 cents was charged within the city on each division and no transfers were given. When these lines were taken over by the commission the portions outside of the city were turned over to the Hydro-Electric Commission of Ontario as trustees for the city.

The Toronto Suburban Railway operated in the northwestern section of the city. The fare charged within the city was cash 5 cents or 6 tickets for 25 cents, with limited tickets at 8 for 25 cents. The city portion of this system has only recently been purchased, and the work of rehabilitation is now in hand.

The tracks of all the above systems, within the city limits, have been acquired by the city and placed under the control of the commission.

PAYMENT OF MORE THAN ONE FARE NOT SATISFACTORY

The necessity of paying more than one fare, if travel was not confined to certain areas, was most unsatisfactory.

This condition, coupled with the inconvenience and delay in transferring from one system to the other and the general poor condition of the roadbed and equipment, led to the demand for a full and efficient service on a one-fare basis between all sections of the city. These demands culminated in the electors voting, by a large majority, in favor of the acquisition of the Toronto Railway at the expiration of its franchise, which was to terminate September 1, 1921.

CONCERNING PRESENT ADMINISTRATION

Now that a general outline of conditions leading up to the present operation of the Toronto Street Railway has been given, a discussion on the following questions may perhaps help the reader to form a judgment as to whether or not municipal ownership has been satisfactory, so far as this particular utility is concerned.

1. Is a satisfactory service given?
2. Is the revenue covering all proper charges?
3. Is the administration efficient?
4. Is the present fare a reasonable and necessary charge?
5. Does the appointment of the commission directly by the city council allow politics to creep into the administration?
6. Has the citizen benefited by the adoption of municipal control?

IS A SATISFACTORY SERVICE GIVEN?

In the question of service, the citizens of Toronto have little reason to complain. When the existing lines were turned over to the commission, they were in such condition as to require much reconstruction and repair. The carrying out of this necessary work produced operation difficulties but, even under this handicap, good service was given which has gradually improved until to-day Toronto can boast of having one of the best transportation services on the continent.

Every effort seems to have been made to serve the public and it is rather remarkable how the extensive reconstruction program has been carried out without seriously interfering with the regular routing of the cars.

Before undertaking any considerable work, the commission decided, in view of the condition of the systems taken over by the corporation, that the only wise course to pursue was practically to reconstruct the old lines, carhouses, shops and other equipment. Bringing everything up to the most approved standards was considered as being, in the long run, an economical policy and allowing the best results as regards service. Such progress has been made that the commission was able in July of last year to re-route the entire system, adding much to the convenience of the travelling public, and it is claimed that this move allowed additional service to be given without increasing the cost. Speed in service, especially during the rush hours, has been materially increased.

With the finish of last year's work, which substantially completed the present program of the commission, the total cost of the system, including the acquisition of the Toronto Railway, the Civic Railway, the Toronto and York Radial and the Toronto Suburban lines, is in the neighborhood of \$42,000,000.

Three hundred and fifty new motor and two hundred and twenty-five trailer cars have been purchased. All of these embody the latest and most improved features of passenger-car design. They are built of steel bodies, are of the pay-as-you-pass type, and are quite a pleasing contrast to many of the cars that were previously used. Of the 830 cars taken over from the Toronto Railway Company, 413 have been discarded, 350 are now being remodelled. Seventy cars have been

taken over from the Civic System of which thirteen have been remodelled. The commission has, in addition, purchased and put into service fifteen gasoline and four trackless trolley buses which are operating as feeders to the street-car lines on a free transfer to and from the Street Railway System. The contention made by the city during the arbitration proceedings in reference to price to be paid for the Toronto Street Railway was that the operation of many of the old cars, ignoring the question of service, would result in a financial loss even if they cost nothing, as against paying interest and depreciation on the cost of modern cars.

Twenty-eight and one-half miles of

miles of bus and trackless trolley put in operation. Whereas primarily the one fare area under the Toronto Railway Company contained a population of only 375,000, which necessitated the remaining 148,000 either walking long distances to reach their homes, or paying an additional fare, the Transportation Commission is now giving service to an area containing a population of about 575,000, and all on a one-fare basis.

IS THE REVENUE COVERING ALL PROPER CHARGES?

A statement of revenue and expenditures for the first sixteen months' operation is herewith given. This has

Expenditure

Cost of electric current, including operation	\$1,499,606.29	
Way and structure	721,930.05	
Equipment	1,563,566.92	
Conducting transportation	6,222,597.32	
General and miscellaneous	960,914.30	
Net income available for fixed charges	4,754,867.34	
		<hr/> \$15,723,482.22

Income

Passenger earnings	\$15,455,337.29	
Income from other sources	268,144.93	
		<hr/> \$15,723,482.22

main-line track extensions have been built; fifty-two and one-half miles entirely reconstructed; thirty-seven miles repaired and welded, and eight

been audited by the city auditor as being correct.

The disposition of the Net Operating Income shown above is as follows:

Interest	\$2,588,181.29	
Less interest on idle funds	532,505.99	
		<hr/> \$2,055,675.30
Redemption of debentures (capital debt)		425,107.97
Depreciation		1,012,827.00
Organization expenses		139,218.19
Reserved for unredeemed tickets		175,000.00
Reserve for workmen's compensation and public liability		400,000.00
Reserve for contingencies		437,569.89
Net income carried to Surplus Account		109,468.99
		<hr/> \$4,754,867.34

Rehabilitation and property costs have been charged against capital account.

The writer is reliably informed that the item for interest as above plus the item for re-payment of capital debt will together take care of all statutory obligations as provided in the by-laws under which the money is raised, as well as the interest on the award of the arbitrators.

The depreciation item is based on providing what is necessary to replace the assets at the end of their useful lifetime less the amount set aside for debenture debt. In other words, provision is made so that at the end of the useful lifetime of the assets, the debt on the same will be extinguished. Just how the depreciation item has been arrived at, what is the classification of the life of the various structures, what is allowed for repairs, etc., the writer is not in a position to state definitely, but from a general observation of figures, the provisions allowed would seem to satisfy the requirements of sound financing, where the object is to give service at cost.

The general financial report for the first sixteen months shows a very satisfactory condition and information, which we feel can be taken as correct, would indicate that, based on operations of the first ten months of 1923, an equally satisfactory condition will be reflected in the 1923 report.

IS THE ADMINISTRATION EFFICIENT?

We have not had the opportunity of closely examining unit costs or of considering the special circumstances controlling the various phases of work undertaken, and are, therefore, not in a position to make a definite statement as to efficiency in the detail of the administration. From an examination, however, of organization charts and from a general observation of work

being done, the writer is of the opinion that but little adverse criticism can justly be made on this score. The engineering work is apparently of a high standard, and the general operation services seem to be carried on in an efficient manner. The policy of the commission seems to be to mass men and equipment so each job undertaken may be hustled to completion. The writer feels that in all cases this may not always produce the lowest possible unit costs, but it certainly does tend to minimize traffic and trade disturbance in any particular district.

IS THE PRESENT FARE A REASONABLE AND NECESSARY CHARGE?

From time to time opinions have been expressed that the commission should regulate their operations so that a reduced fare would be possible. However, when this opinion is balanced against the excellent service being given, the extent of area served and the necessity of covering all carrying and operation charges out of revenue, coupled with the apparent general efficiency of the organization, it would seem that no reduction in fares can be expected unless the commission curtails necessary service or extension work. The increasing economies in operation which are apparently being brought into effect each year will possibly to some extent be offset by necessary development in new areas.

The area now served by the commission with one fare is practically 35 square miles. The fare charged is 7 cents or 4 tickets for 25 cents, or 50 tickets for three dollars with universal free transfers. All city officials and executives, with the exception of policemen, must pay fares. Children's tickets are 3 cents or 10 for 25 cents (children not in arms and not over 51 inches in height).

An analysis of the component items

Maintenance of track work, including overhead and build- ings.....	.290 cents per person..	4.62%
Maintenance of equipment.....	.628 " " " ..	10.01%
Cost of power.....	.602 " " " ..	9.61%
Conducting transportation.....	2.499 " " " ..	39.85%
General and miscellaneous expenses.....	.386 " " " ..	6.15%
Interest and redemption capital and depreciation.....	1.403 " " " ..	22.38%
Reserves.....	.406 " " " ..	6.49%
Organization expenses.....	.056 " " " ..	.89%
Total.....	6.270 " " " ..	100.00%

of cost expressed as fractions of the average fare is shown in the table above.

The average fare paid per revenue passenger is 6.165 cents and the difference between this and the cost of 6.270 cents, as given above, represents the sundry revenue from sources other than passenger receipts.

HAS THE APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMISSION BY THE CITY COUNCIL ALLOWED POLITICS TO CREEP INTO THE ADMINISTRATION?

Apparently the commission has not been hampered to any great extent by political interference. The general satisfactory results to date answer this question and it is doubtful whether the smaller details are affected as much as they would be in a private corporation by private influences. Extension of lines, up to the present, has been determined by the commission, and it can fairly be said that wherever these extensions have been made, they seem to be quite generally made use of and of real service to the citizens concerned. A point here which reflects additional credit upon the commission's financial statement is that each extension brings more operating expense without a corresponding increase in revenue.

Whether or not political influence can permanently be kept from influencing the appointment of the commission is something for the future to determine, but this point will be a big

controlling factor in the continued success of the present organization.

HAS THE CITIZEN BENEFITED BY THE ADOPTION OF MUNICIPAL CONTROL?

There is no doubt whatever that up to the present the citizen has benefited by the adoption of municipal ownership as carried on by the present management of the Toronto Transportation Commission. The aim of the commission has apparently been to provide transportation facilities so that all citizens are within reasonable walking distance of a car line or bus service.

Arguments may be brought up in an endeavor to prove that under previous private ownership the taxpayer had benefited by the annual payments made to the city by the Railway Company, but when the general development of the city, which has been so assisted by the policy of the Transportation Commission, is considered and the service conditions are compared there is less weight to these arguments.

Problems now confront the commission in providing transportation for the population immediately adjacent to the city. Undoubtedly the commission's policy in this regard will be that the car rider in these adjacent areas will bear the full cost of service rendered.

The business and equipment of the Toronto Transportation Commission constitutes approximately 25 per cent of the business and equipment of all the sixty-five electric railways in Canada.

The Toronto Transportation Commission carried 187,145,263 fares in 1922, as compared with 738,908,949 in all Canada; their car mileage was 26,891,077 out of a total of 113,403,912; their passenger revenue \$11,428,543 out of \$45,766,630.

The Toronto Transportation Commission employed 2,323 out of the country's 9,314 motormen and conductors and paid them \$3,611,575, as

compared with \$13,215,328 on all lines. Its total employees numbered 4,140 out of Canada's 18,099, and these received \$6,691,128 out of \$24,988,118 paid by all the Canadian systems.

The writer feels confident in expressing the conviction that not only is the street railway system of Toronto a great system in size and service, but that to date, the executive and policy administration has been of a high order.

CENTRALIZED PURCHASING FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

BY ARTHUR G. THOMAS

United States Bureau of Efficiency

The national government is moving towards a system of central purchase under the impetus of demonstrated economies accomplished by the General Supply Committee. :: :: :: :: :: ::

WERE a complete description written of the various supply systems of the United States Government, and so broadcasted as to reach the attention of every fair-minded citizen, there would be accomplished a silencing of much unfair criticism. Such a description would show that in many instances departmental services of supply are functioning as efficiently as could be desired; that estimates of requirements are carefully weighed, receiving, warehousing and distribution well planned and capably conducted, and purchasing methods thoroughly businesslike. And this in spite of the fact that there must necessarily be imposed by law upon agencies of government restrictions from which private corporations are free.

THE GENERAL SUPPLY COMMITTEE

Such a complete description is, of course, impracticable, and no one

would read it if it were written. We average American citizens care little to be shown in detail how right our government is; we care far more to be shown wherein it is wrong and what is being done by way of correction. So this article will be confined to the field occupied by a small but important entity in Uncle Sam's service of supply, namely the General Supply Committee, established by law as an interdepartmental contracting agency for articles common to two or more departments.

The General Supply Committee had its origin in the work of a subcommittee appointed by the so-called Keep Committee in 1906. This subcommittee found that as many kinds of articles were being bought to meet the same needs as there were departments, and that prices paid displayed the widest possible range. The result was that an interdepartmental agency was

established to analyze the needs of the government, to standardize requirements for common supplies, and to contract jointly for these supplies. Standardization and a uniform price were the objects sought, and no thought was entertained of setting up an agency actually to buy for all departments and establishments the articles jointly contracted for, nor to serve interdepartmentally in other aspects of the supply problem. This agency, recruited by detail of necessary help from the several departments, served until 1910 when Congress established the General Supply Committee in the Treasury Department and gave it a small appropriation. The Act of June 17, 1910, creating the committee provides: "That hereafter all supplies of fuel, ice, stationery, and other miscellaneous supplies for the executive departments and other government establishments in Washington, D. C., when the public exigencies do not require the immediate delivery of the article, shall be advertised and contracted for by the Secretary of the Treasury, instead of by the several departments and establishments, upon such days as he may designate." It establishes a committee, composed of officers from the several departments, and charges this committee with the duty of making, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, "an annual schedule of required miscellaneous supplies," of standardizing such supplies, of eliminating all unnecessary grades and varieties, and of aiding the secretary in soliciting bids upon adequate specifications. The articles intended to be so contracted for are further defined in the act as "those in common use by or suitable to the ordinary needs of two or more such departments or establishments." Purchases from the common schedule of supplies are to be made by each de-

partment separately, but in each case, through not more than one office or bureau, although the head of each department may give permission to "detached bureaus having field or outlying service" to purchase directly from the contractors.

Obviously this agency is not a real interdepartmental purchasing agency. Almost yearly since 1913 the Secretary of the Treasury has recommended that it be made such. Bills have been drawn to accomplish this end, but have died peacefully in committee, or have been lost elsewhere on the way-side. It is desired to develop in this article a few reasons why proposals for change are worthy of a better fate. Prefatory to this it is essential to state how the established system is now working.

HOW PRESENT SYSTEM WORKS

It should be remembered that it is mandatory only upon departmental services in Washington to buy from contractors listed in the annual general schedule of supplies. Field services, even though located in Washington, are excluded, excepting as they may desire to participate. But in spite of this limitation there were purchased by the departments and establishments from contractors on the general schedule during the fiscal year 1922, supplies and services costing approximately \$6,700,000. If any important percentage of this sum can be saved by changes in method the means for accomplishing this well deserve the consideration of Congress and of the Government's highest executive officers.

An illustration of how the present method works, and of possible savings under a change in method is furnished by the purchase of tires and tubes in definite quantities started during the past summer. During February, the General Supply Committee, following

its usual practice, had called for bids on upwards of 15,000 different items, grouped in twenty classes, prices to hold good for the fiscal year 1924, beginning July 1, 1923. In the invitation for bids on Class 17, "Motor Trucks, Tires, Tubes, and Accessories," the committee listed almost every conceivable size and kind of tire and tube which it was thought might be bought by the departments during the ensuing fiscal year, and stated as a basis of calculation by bidders the quantities of each size and kind bought during the fiscal year 1922. Bids were received in March and tabulated for award. At about the same time three field services were buying tires and tubes in definite quantities for immediate delivery, thus eliminating all speculation on the part of bidders as to time, place, and amount involved. These three services were the Post Office Department, the Motor Transport Division of the Army, and the Marine Corps.

Comparison of prices received by the General Supply Committee under its indefinite running contract method of purchase with those received by the three field services revealed a most striking difference in price on identical tires and tubes. Thus, on one brand of tire of a certain size and kind the price bid to the General Supply Committee for purchase by departments as required was \$20.06, while on the same tire the Marine Corps buying in definite quantities had a price of \$11.98. Both bids were made under bureau of standards specifications and were for tires identical in every respect as to name, size, kind, method of manufacture, etc. Again on a certain large size of inner tube the price bid to the General Supply Committee was \$6.20, while the Marine Corps had a price of \$2.59 for the same make, size and kind of tube. Plainly the Government was

losing a large sum on tires and tubes alone by buying them piecemeal on a running contract. This fact was brought to the attention of Colonel Smither, chief co-ordinator in the bureau of the budget, and he promptly decided to issue a bulletin calling upon the departments to submit to the General Supply Committee definite figures covering requirements of tires and tubes for the three months commencing July 1, 1923. The General Supply Committee accordingly made no awards under its high bids received for running contracts, but instead consolidated the definite requirements, and advertised them as such for direct delivery to Washington and to offices in the field. The resulting prices received on upwards of 6,000 tires and a similar number of tubes revealed savings on certain brands of tires of as high as 45 per cent. Conservatively estimated, the saving on all of this purchase of tires and tubes reached approximately \$29,000, or 27 per cent, as against prices which would have been paid had awards been made by the General Supply Committee on bids received for running contracts.

RUNNING CONTRACT METHOD EXPENSIVE

Here was a demonstration beyond controversy that the Government was losing thousands of dollars, perhaps millions, by persisting in using an antiquated and cumbersome method of buying. If a tire manufacturer, as was shown to be true, was willing to sell a tire for \$48.50, which he had asked \$84 for under the running contract plan, was it not possible to accomplish the same good results as to other classes of supplies included in the general schedule? That this is true was soon proven. The General Supply Committee requested the departments to send in definite estimates on

certain very important kinds of paper on which running contracts had not been procurable for a longer period than from July 1 to October 1, 1923. These requirements were consolidated and bought outright with delivery concentrated in Washington. The resulting percentage of saving compared favorably in most cases with that in the definite quantity purchase of tires. Bureaus in Washington found they could save large amounts by shipping paper thus bought to field offices instead of authorizing local small quantity purchases.

So far so good. The *Quod Erat Demonstrandum* has been applied and the running contract method of purchase has been shown to be a poor one, at least for articles in common use and definitely determinable as to kind and quantity. Thousands of items which may be classed as office supplies or as maintenance supplies fall within this category. Take, for example, the first item on the general schedule of supplies, "rubber bands," of which the different offices purchased during the fiscal year 1922, upwards of \$30,000 worth from the contractor on the schedule. Two hundred and sixty-five orders were issued to this contractor during the course of the year for quantities ranging from a quarter of a pound to 2,000 pounds. Consider the vast amount of paper work involved in preparation of orders, in accounting, and in auditing. Consider also the trouble involved to the contractor, and that for this trouble as well as for its own work the Government must pay. Now it is very clear that on all articles commonly used and carried in stock by the Government definite estimates of requirements can be figured, these estimates consolidated and full advantage taken by the Government, working as a unit, of its tremendous buying power.

METHODS OF STOREKEEPING IMPORTANT

But the service of supply must obviously be considered in all its aspects and steps taken by way of betterment should be co-ordinated as to each factor. Improvements in purchasing methods from which better prices are to be expected are dependent largely upon improvement in methods of storekeeping, and good storekeeping in turn is dependent, among other things, upon correct analysis of requirements. The whole problem is interlocked as to each element. It must be remembered that in the case of the definite quantity purchases of tires and tubes and of paper, the bids on consolidated quantities are centrally obtained and awards made through the General Supply Committee, but that each bureau makes its own inspection and pays its own bills. The process is still cumbersome, but unavoidably so as the law now stands. Furthermore, each department and establishment in Washington has its own extensive stores of office supplies and to a large extent also of maintenance stores, that is, articles used in maintaining public buildings and grounds. In the same building, a temporary war-time structure of flimsy construction, are located two large stores, those of the Treasury Department and of the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture, both of which maintain stocks of articles in large measure identical. Analysis is being made by the Bureau of Efficiency of the space, personnel and value of stock involved in the city of Washington alone in purchasing, storing, and distributing articles in common use. The resulting data will show that over 500,000 square feet of storage space is now used by the various departments, scattered all over Washington, some of it very valuable

for office use, and on the other hand much of it positively hazardous to valuable property by reason of fire risk, dampness, etc. Also, records of stock on hand and of receipts and distribution are in many cases incomplete.

A REAL CENTRAL PURCHASING AGENT
NEEDED

Considering the supply problem as a whole, in so far as it relates to articles in common use by all or several departments and establishments in Washington, or for distribution from Washington to field services, there can be but one logical solution if a sincere, thoroughgoing effort is to be made to put the Government on a business basis in this regard. The General Supply Committee should be supplanted by or transformed into a real supply agency with authority to purchase outright and in bulk articles commonly used, to receive, inspect and store such articles, and to distribute them or hold them subject to call. Departmental storage of such articles in large quantities should be supplanted by interdepartmental storage, and bureaus confined to periodic requisitions of quantities sufficient to meet only short-time needs. By such a course storage space can be cut in half and made a model as to facilities and protection against loss, deterioration, surplusage and antiquation. Personnel engaged upon supply matters can be greatly reduced. Stock on hand can be reduced to a minimum, as interdepartmental consolidated stocks will be sufficient to obviate the need of each department's keeping a maximum against emergencies.

Now certain exceptions will occur to anyone familiar with the facts, as to the broad and complete application of the above plan. Conceding the advantage of real centralization of purchase, is it essential that the receiving, storing and

distributing functions of the central agency should embrace all classes of items in common use by all or several departments and establishments? Clearly it is not, provided stores of each large class are so consolidated interdepartmentally as to reduce storage space, personnel and stock on hand to a minimum. The Superintendent of the State, War and Navy Department Buildings, for example, now maintains 40 buildings and in addition furnishes maintenance supplies to the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and to the Bureau of Standards. His stores are models in orderliness, and in amount of stock on hand; his records are up to the minute and an accurate balance and statement of future needs may be taken at noon each day on about 7,000 items. Should these stores be taken away from him and his subordinates, many of them engineers skilled in maintaining public buildings and grounds? Such a course is not necessary to secure the best results. But these same stores, under the law as it stands, must in large measure be bought from contractors on the general schedule of supplies at prices placed at relatively high figures because of the long periods and scattered deliveries involved. These stores illustrate what may be done by way of interdepartmental storage and distribution and at the same time illustrate the fallacy of encumbering purchase with the price and delivery conditions of a schedule of running contracts from which all services may draw, when and as they please.

Under the present system of scattered purchases against general running contracts, inspection of deliveries has reached a very low ebb.

Standardization and elimination of unnecessary grades and varieties of articles have also failed to a large extent of being accomplished. It is a fact that in this regard the General

Supply Committee has failed to do its duty as directed by law. The answer to this is, in part, better departmental representation, the designation of men able and willing to take the necessary steps, in spite of pressure from department officials. But a more complete solution would be the establishment of a real buying agency for common supplies, a bureau of supply, with a head endowed by law with essential authority, and supported by expert buyers of each class of supplies. To such an organization the departmental representatives would, of course, be advisory.

No prophecies can safely be made as to how long it will be before the federal government in Washington will have set itself to rights in its supply matters. Congress must give needed sanction to certain changes before every desirable object can be accomplished. But prior to this much can be accomplished by executive order under existing law. Let the highest officials of all departments and establishments be brought to a realization of the advantage of all "heaving together" on the matters pertaining to simple, common supplies, and of the positive wastefulness of not doing so, and the

goal will be half attained. This is the object of the thorough analysis now in process.

Two years ago very excellent bills in identical terms were introduced by Congressman Wood of Indiana and Senator McCormick of Illinois, designed to accomplish a real centralization of purchase in the District of Columbia, yet safeguarded in every essential respect against intrusion upon departmental responsibility. These bills had the advantage, before their introduction, of criticism by the leading supply officers of the Government. Congress was probably too busy at that time with the great problems inherited from the war to assign to these bills the attention they deserved. Moreover, the Joint Committee on Reorganization adopted the plan of creating an interdepartmental bureau of supply as a part of its general scheme and requested the postponement of hearings on these bills. Congressman Wood has just reintroduced his bill. So now the creation of a bureau of supply is before Congress both as an element of the general reorganization scheme and as an independent measure. May fortune favor its course.

PARTY POLITICS IN ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT¹

II. PARTICIPATION OF PARTIES AND THE CHANCES OF INDEPENDENTS

BY JOHN J. CLARKE, M.A., F.S.S.

Lecturer at the University of Liverpool and Fellow of the National Association of Local Government Officials

Party politics in municipal affairs in England is nothing new although it has been greatly stimulated by the Labor party. Party elections receive encouragement from all party organizers, for they enable local party machines to be kept alive. Municipal administration, however, is seldom influenced by party spirit, and party control is not too emphatic. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THERE is nothing in Great Britain approaching the "ticket" of the United States, neither has any attempt yet been made to establish a block system as in France. In fact it may be said that the national party organizers interfere but little in local government elections, being quite content to estimate the relative strength of the parties from the result of the local government elections. On the other hand, the selection of candidates for the British House of Commons enters very considerably into the duties of the national party organizers. Especially in the event of a by-election due to the death of a sitting member or of his acceptance of an office of profit under the Crown (constitutionally a member of the House of Commons cannot resign, but by accepting office he vacates his seat) the national party organizers will often impose a candidate upon a constituency, sometimes with adverse results at the poll.

¹ This is the concluding installment of the article by Professor Clarke. The first part appeared in our January issue.

LOCAL AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS KEPT SEPARATE

Generally, the selection of candidates for local government elections rests entirely with the local areas. But in such selections the local party organizers—who have acted in a like capacity in the elections to the House of Commons—are intimately concerned with the selection of these candidates and are often consulted by the respective wards. The ward organizers are usually kept together by political clubs which possess the same officers for national as well as local purposes.

It is considered, however, very desirable that the electors should not be confused with regard to the conflicting claims of national and local elections. This is clearly illustrated in the case of the 1922 general election to the British House of Commons. The triennial elections for the metropolitan borough councils and the annual elections for the provincial city and town councils fell due on November 1, 1922. This was the stat-

utory date in accordance with the London Government Act of 1899 and the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882.

Notwithstanding the resignation of the premier—Mr. Lloyd George—on October 19, 1922, and the selection of Mr. Bonar Law as his successor, the general election for the return of representatives to the House of Commons was postponed until November 15. This was done quite naturally and with the entire approval of all the political parties in order to prevent any difficulties arising from a confusion of thought on the part of the electors the majority of whom would be called upon to cast their votes both for the House of Commons on November 15 and for the metropolitan and provincial councils a fortnight earlier.

CANDIDATES SELECTED BY PARTIES

It might be suggested that party politics in local government affairs is a new phase of public affairs in England, but the evidence available clearly contradicts this view. In the larger cities such as Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, it is evident that the large majority of candidates is, and has been for many years past, selected by the political parties. This applies also to the county towns and principal market towns of the provinces as well as the industrial centers. In certain towns it is asserted that the system has always existed. Certainly it has operated in Liverpool for more than seventy years.

This point of view is clearly illustrated by the following extract from a recent issue of the *Liverpool Daily Post*, which refers to the county borough of Wallasey.

In the contest in South Seacombe Ward on Saturday for the seat on Wallasey Council rendered vacant by the death of Mr. P. J. Tunnick, the Conservatives made a determined effort to wrest the seat from the Liberals. There has

been by general agreement a return to party warfare in view of the fact that the continued dominance of the Conservatives or the accession to power of the Liberals will depend upon the winning or losing of seats prior to the aldermanic elections on November 9, when seven occupants of the front bench retire, these comprising three Conservatives, three National Liberals, and one Liberal.

The candidates at the present election were Messrs. George W. Russell (L), wholesale news-agent, and Charles M. Coffee (C), retired school-master. The result of the polling was declared by Alderman Holdsworth, the returning officer, as follows:

Russell	729
Coffee	675
	<hr/>
Liberal majority	54
	<hr/>

There are 2,498 electors in the ward, so that the poll of 1,404 represented a percentage of 56.

The council as now constituted consists of 25 Conservatives, supported by 3 National-Liberal aldermen, 20 Liberals, 4 Independents, and 4 Labor representatives. If no seats are won or lost on November 1, the voting strength for the election of seven aldermen will be 18 Conservatives, 16 Liberals, 4 Independents, and 4 Labor, and the votes of the last two sections would obviously control the situation. Both Liberals and Conservatives will, therefore, make every effort to win seats.

SOUND GROUNDS FOR PARTY POLITICS

There is no lack of interest in the elections for municipal councils, and there are many reasons for the encouragement of party politics in municipal affairs.

It is claimed that it is the only effective method of maintaining a general interest in public affairs.

It constitutes a means of education and encouragement to the younger voter who is thus trained in the machinery which applies to national elections. If, on the whole, party politics is the best for imperial affairs, then it is declared to be equally good for municipal affairs.

It is believed that the introduction of party government is good also for the local affairs. For example, it is claimed that objects of social reform such as sanitation, housing, etc., are best developed as the result of action by a party.

In the interest of municipal purity, also, the party system is believed to be fairly sound. Even if the policy of the party be bad from a public administration point of view, it is better in practice than one that is vacillating or uncertain.

In considering the constitution of the London County Council and also the metropolitan borough councils it is important to observe that the "Municipal Reform" party is but another name for the Conservative party, who at one time were, for the purpose of these elections, styled "Moderates." Similarly, the name "Progressives" is but another name for Liberals.

In the election of the London County Council in March, 1922, the Progressive party were in open alliance with the Municipal Reform party against the Labor party in four divisions, Hackney Central (where there was no contest), Lambeth North, Limehouse and Southwark North; at the same time in many three-cornered contests the Progressive and Municipal Reform parties formed two out of the three mutually opposing parties, and in only one division, Lewisham West, did the Progressives and Municipal Reformers oppose each other in a straight fight. The following are the figures in the election of March, 1922:

Party	Votes	Seats	Seats in proportion to votes
Municipal Reform	557,206	65	52
Labor	380,692	16	35
Progressive	186,203	25	18
Independent	9,316	—	1
	1,133,417	106	106

So clearly marked is the party spirit in the London County Council that the proceedings are conducted as nearly as possible upon House of Commons lines. The visitor to the new County Hall at Westminster will see upon several of the doors the term "Whips Room," showing that the party machine has official recognition.

LABOR PARTY ACTIVE IN MUNICIPAL POLITICS

Until a comparatively recent date, the Labor party has not engaged to any great extent in municipal politics. It is now their intention to advocate their principles and apply them where possible in local government. The bid of labor for municipal power led in 1919 to a great increase in three-cornered contests, from which that party profited very considerably. In 1922 the older parties, in order to avoid the loss of seats to a minority, for the most part submerged their differences in a united opposition to labor. Coalitions entered into before an election in order to save a party from extinction usually prove to be a source of dissatisfaction and embarrassment.

The result has been that the older parties—Conservatives and Liberals—are developing the party spirit in municipal affairs in an endeavor to prevent the gravitation to labor of the younger men.

Far from getting away from this spirit the Labor party is developing and encouraging it in every possible way.

One further result of the advent of the Labor party into local government has been the introduction of party politics into elections for Boards of Guardians. These bodies were established by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 for the purpose of taking over the administration of the Poor Laws in England and Wales.

Until recently the elections were decided more upon the religious claims of the candidates than upon any other factor, due mainly to the personal character of the functions which the Boards of Guardians are called upon to perform.

The growth of the Labor party has tended to develop these elections upon party lines and for the other parties to combine against labor. Such a feature should result in an improvement in the caliber of the candidates which is much to be desired, as they have been, for many years, of a rather inferior character.

INDEPENDENTS HAVE LITTLE CHANCE

At the annual local government elections there are usually one or two candidates brought forward under special circumstances, who are correctly styled as "Independent," but they furnish the exceptions, and have little or no chance of being returned. As a rule they possess no organization unless they are leaders of a sectarian body, which has happened in certain towns where religious differences exist. This is unfortunate, as the present system of election places councillors of great experience and eminent public services at the mercy of a small local majority, and leads to the loss to local government of many who have made municipal affairs their study and life-work. Further, the uncertain tenure of a seat deters many good candidates from coming forward. They are repelled by the knowledge that others have made the necessary sacrifices in giving themselves to public work, only to find at the end of a three-year period that a passing wave of opinion has cast them adrift.

How slender are the chances of the Independent candidates is further illustrated by the return of the London borough council elections in Novem-

ber, 1922. Of the 3,018,490 votes cast the Independents polled only 55,835. Out of the total of 1,362 seats the Independents won only twelve. On the other hand, the Municipal Reformers polled 1,297,935 votes, Labor 1,034,112, the Ratepayers' Association 507,392, and the Progressives 119,391.

CO-OPTATION

To meet the difficulty of the failure of the Independent candidates and of others who possess expert knowledge of various phases of local government work, a system of co-optation has been introduced. Originating with the Education Act of 1902, it has been extended into all the acts of Parliament subsequently passed which have added new functions to those of the local government authorities. The principle is justified on the ground that it introduces the expert element which would otherwise be unrepresented.

On the other hand, it is claimed that the method of co-optation encourages extravagance, and that the expert element should sit in an advisory capacity only. In such an event the question arises whether the expert would consider it worth while to attend.

Instances are given, however, of the encouragement to extravagance which this system produces. For example, maternity and child welfare centers are often supported from grants provided by the votes of co-opted members of such committees, the experts taking advantage of their co-opted membership to secure the grant for the organization in which they are specially interested.

The policy which the respective parties is to adopt is decided at a party, or "caucus," meeting which is usually held to discuss the agenda before the meeting of the Council. The caucus possesses the advantage of enabling a man to express himself freely and to

obtain information as to what is going on, which obviates the necessity of raising the question at a Council meeting. It is usual for a two-thirds majority of the party voting upon a question to secure for such subject being declared a "party" question. In such an event the minority members are expected to honor the decision by abstaining from speaking or voting against the decision.

The party caucus is essential, or there might be as many views as members. It tends to check irresponsibility, for it secures, more or less, responsible decisions while it makes the leaders respond also to the wishes of the rank and file.

The control by the party is not too emphatic. Respect is shown for pledges to constituents and questions of conscience. Criticism is valuable even within a party, and unless this were allowed the government would become little less than a farce and the Council meetings would become ineffective debating societies.

ADMINISTRATION SELDOM INFLUENCED BY PARTY SPIRIT

While the party spirit thus enters into the elections, the administration is but seldom influenced by it. There are, in fact, very few matters which demand a strict adherence to party, *e.g.* the election of a mayor or alderman.

Usually the parties divide their forces and members specialize in different subjects, *e.g.* education, electrical supply, parks and open spaces. Thus when a member wishes for information upon a particular subject he approaches a member of his own party who has given that subject his attention. At the Council meeting they usually follow the member of their party who is on the committee concerned.

On many questions there is only one possible "side," so that a strict ad-

herence to party government would result in the creation of a body whose duty it is to oppose all measures emanating from the party in office. This would create an entirely false atmosphere and obscure fact that unless both sides are wrong (which not infrequently happens) one side must be right.

Although the foregoing remarks apply specifically to the elections for municipal or borough councils, party contests arise also in county council, urban district council, rural district council and parish council elections, especially where the Labor party is strong.

On the other hand, the party system is not in evidence in many of the county councils—except where the Labor party predominates—due to the retention of the old traditions to which reference was made in the earlier portion of this article.

When considering the application of party politics to the smaller local authorities such as the urban district councils, rural district councils and parish councils, many varying circumstances affect the position. The character of the area is a determining factor. In many suburban areas there are no parties, the personal factor such as individual capacity often determining the choice of candidates. In certain areas a Ratepayers' Association will develop the party system, encouraged and fostered by the Labor party influence. Until such arises the caucus or party meeting is unknown and questions before the Council are determined solely upon their merit.

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

In Scotland local government elections are not conducted as a rule on party lines, and they have never been so conducted. By this is meant that the old divisions between Conserva-

tives and Liberals have, except in the larger cities, played no part in municipal elections. With the Labor party coming into position the matter has been changed, and in local elections now the Labor party run candidates of their own. In some of the larger cities in the past politics have had something to do with elections, but this does not apply in the counties nor in the burghs other than the four large cities in Scotland.

In Ireland local government elections have been much colored in recent years by the effect of the national problems which have loomed largely in the eyes of the whole civilized world. The Local Government (Ireland) Act of 1919, which provided for the election to local government authorities by the system of the single transferable vote, demonstrated the value of the system by the return of candidates who supported a minority opinion.

IS PARTY SYSTEM TO BE DEPLORED?

Nevertheless, there are thoughtful and influential men who deplore the development of the party system and who would wish to see evolved a local government policy applicable to areas and to particular functions. To be prepared to be subservient to a party on any matter involves a weakening of the expressions of convictions. In local government affairs this is neither desirable nor necessary.

The question of a further development of party government involves the consideration of the payment of chairmen of the committees of the larger local authorities. What is required is continuity of chairman, and if payment would help to secure this it would be an advantage. This would lead to the development of commissioners on the lines operating in certain cities in the United States of America.

On the other hand, there are oc-

casions—very few it is true—when government by party will result in opposition to proposals upon which all right-minded men are agreed, and which, if left free, they would support.

It is further maintained that the national issues and the local or parochial so seldom come into the same category that it is questioned whether it is really advantageous to keep the same political parties for national and municipal contests. But the political party organizers think otherwise.

Those who believe this to be true claim that the establishment of proportional representation upon the principle of the single transferable vote would be quite a good thing in the interests of local government efficiency, and would prove a barrier to hasty legislation. The introduction of the system is not, however, welcomed by any one party. In certain directions it is believed that it will not allow the elected to govern, and by reason of the small majorities which would result it is thought that the minority will be enabled to sway the majority. The Labor party are divided in opinion on this question believing, on the whole, that they will best attain their ends upon the same lines as were followed by the older parties.

To conclude, therefore, it may be said that the trend in the direction of party politics in municipal affairs in England is not new, but has in many towns been a feature of local government for many years. It has, however, developed as a result of the advent of the Labor party. This method of election receives encouragement from all the central party organizers as well as locally, for it enables the local party machine to be kept alive. It is acceptable to the vast majority of the people.

Non-party or Independent candidates obtain but little success at the

polls and rarely secure seats upon the larger local councils. The system of party government enables men and women to devote themselves to the government of the community. Those who, while experts upon certain subjects, are not prepared to face the political platform have opportunities for service under the system of co-optation which has been an important feature of the past two decades of local government development.

While the party system has a tendency to put control into the hands of a small autocracy composed of the leaders on both sides, who with few exceptions are chosen from a comparatively small circle, the general opinion is that the spirit of good citizenship usually prevails over party interests and that, in the conduct of business, and as a general rule, there are none for the party but all are for the uplifting of the community.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION PROPOSED FOR MISSOURI

BY W. W. HOLLINGSWORTH

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*After many efforts a Constitutional Convention was held in Missouri.
The people will vote on its proposals on February 26. :: :: ::*

SINCE the adoption of the present Missouri constitution in 1875, there have been proposed approximately one hundred amendments, about twenty of which have been adopted. For more than a decade a movement for a convention to revise the constitution has been under way, but there was no well-organized effort before 1918. Each successive session of the legislature was prevailed upon to submit the question to the voters of the state, but without avail. Finally the New Constitution Association of Missouri took form and began to function. Since the legislature refused to submit the matter to the voters, it was decided that the next best step was to change, by means of the initiative, the method of calling constitutional conventions. Under the auspices of the above-named organization a committee of prominent lawyers drew up an amendment to the con-

stitution which was submitted to the voters on November 2, 1920, and carried by a vote of 394,437 to 317,815. This amendment provided in substance:

First. For a change of method for choosing delegates to constitutional conventions, so that there would be chosen from each of the thirty-four senatorial districts, two elected delegates representing the two major parties, and fifteen non-partisan delegates from the state at large.

Second. For a special election August 2, 1921, so that the voters might indicate whether or not a convention should be called to revise or amend the present constitution.

Whether a constitutional convention should be called was the principal issue to be decided in the election held August 2, 1921. About one-sixth of those eligible participated, and the

result stood 175,353 for and 127,130 against calling the convention. Governor Hyde thereupon called a special election which was held January 31, 1922, for the purpose of choosing delegates to the constitutional convention.

As indicated above, the plan called for a bipartisan selection of district delegates. The Democratic and Republican parties, each acting through its committees, elected a candidate from each of the thirty-four senatorial districts, and the two state central committees at a series of meetings selected a fusion ticket for the fifteen delegates at large. This ticket was submitted to the voters and was overwhelmingly approved.

The convention met May 15, 1922, continued in session until December 15 and then adjourned so that the legislature might meet. The convention re-assembled April 16 and finished its work November 6, 1923. The chief of the proposed changes are here recorded.

THE LEGISLATURE

No radical changes were made in the legislature. The pay of members was increased and legislative expenses limited.

THE JUDICIARY

The amendment dealing with the judiciary would leave the state supreme court with seven members as at present, but would have one of them elected as chief justice for his full term, rather than permit the seven judges to rotate that honor among themselves as at present.

The three courts of appeals, as now constituted, would remain undisturbed, except the one at St. Louis would consist of six judges in two divisions, instead of three judges and one division, as at present.

A judicial council has been created composed of chief justice of the su-

preme court, the presiding judge of each division thereof, the presiding judges of Kansas City and Springfield courts of appeals and a judge of the St. Louis court of appeals, selected by the judges thereof, and three circuit court judges who shall be chosen by the above-named persons. It will be the duty of this council to establish and simplify the rules of practice and procedure, to transfer causes from one appellate court to another, to assign judges from one jurisdiction to a similar jurisdiction when the efficient transaction of business of such court so requires; also, the council may, when the business of the court requires, call to the aid of the supreme court or any of the courts of appeals, one or more judges of the circuit courts for such time as may be necessary—may even create an extra division of said courts.

Candidates for judge of supreme court, courts of appeals and circuit courts are to be nominated at a time different from that for the nomination of candidates for other offices.

The term of office for judges of the courts of appeals is to be reduced from twelve to eight years. The terms of judicial officers under the new provision will be as follows: supreme court, ten years; courts of appeals, eight years; and circuit courts, six years.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

The present constitution requires 8 per cent of the legal voters, each of two-thirds congressional districts of the state, to initiate a law or amendment to the constitution. The new provision for the initiation of a law is not changed, but the number of signers required for submitting a constitutional amendment has been raised to 12 per cent. The percentage of voters to invoke the referendum has been raised from 5 to 10 per cent. The ballot submitting an act of the legislature to a

referendum is required under the new constitution to read "Shall the Act of the General Assembly be rejected?" instead of "Shall the Act of the General Assembly be approved?" thus requiring an affirmative vote to reject.

The legislature may repeal or modify an act adopted by the initiative and the people may reject or amend a measure passed by the legislature.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

At present, the functions of the executive branch of the government are performed by some seventy or more departments, commissions, bureaus, boards and other agencies created at different times and under different circumstances which has resulted in duplication and overlapping of services, inefficiency and increased cost of operation. Provision is now made that by January 1, 1926, all the state activities must be consolidated under not more than twelve administrative departments, exclusive of the governor and lieutenant-governor. Five of these divisions are named in the constitution—departments of state, law, audit and accounts, treasury, education. The heads of the first four departments are to be elective, but the head of the department of education is to be selected by a board of education elected by the people. The legislature is authorized to create not more than seven other departments and provide for their appointment or election and to assign to them, as well as to the other five aforementioned departments, their appropriate powers and functions.

ELECTIONS

Under the present constitution, ballot boxes can be opened only in case of a contested election. The new constitution authorizes the opening of ballot boxes and comparison of ballots with the poll lists in the investigation of

fraud in both primary and regular elections. Also, the ballots may be used in the investigation and prosecution of criminal cases. This change was made necessary on account of court decisions holding that the opening of the ballot boxes and the comparing of the ballots with the poll lists destroyed secret voting, since it disclosed how the individual voted.

NOMINATING METHODS

Political parties have been authorized to determine for themselves whether they will nominate their candidates by direct primary or by the convention. Both methods of nominating candidates are to be regulated by law.

SUFFRAGE

The present constitution permits aliens to vote upon the mere declaration of intention to become citizens of the United States. The new provision requires full naturalization before being allowed to vote.

The legislature is required to pass laws providing for registration of voters in counties having more than one hundred thousand and in cities having more than ten thousand.

EDUCATION

At present the department of education is under the control of an ex-officio board composed of the governor, secretary of state, attorney-general and superintendent of public schools. The superintendent is the administrative head of the department and is elected by the people. The new constitution creates a board of education of six members whose election, term of office and per diem compensation shall be determined by law. This board is charged with the supervision of public instruction and the selection of the state commissioner of education who is to have administrative direction of the

department. The commissioner is responsible solely to the board of education under whose authority he serves.

A very important amendment affecting the schools of Missouri is the one which will do away with the restrictions on rural districts in raising sufficient funds to operate effectively their schools. Rural school districts at present can levy only forty cents on \$100 valuation; sixty-five cents, if a majority of the voters of the district approve; and an additional sum for buildings and repairs if two-thirds agree to it. City districts are in a much better position in this respect, since they can levy sixty cents without a vote, \$1 with the approval of the majority and a building levy may be made with the consent of two-thirds of the voters. The new amendment enables country and city schools to increase their tax rate from forty cents in the country and seventy-five cents in cities and towns maintaining a four-year high school course to \$1 on \$100 valuation on a majority vote, \$1.20 on a two-thirds vote and \$1.50 on three-fourths vote. Excess levies now can be made only when authorized by annual elections. Under this new provision a levy would stand for a number of years up to four as specified in the call for election, thus saving the districts the expense of repeated elections. The boards are not required to levy the full voted rates in succeeding years unless needed.

The general assembly may provide for, but cannot compel, free instruction by school districts of persons other than those between six and twenty years of age.

THE BUDGET

Under the present constitution a budget system has been impossible because entrusting the preparation of the budget to the governor has been construed to constitute an unconsti-

tutional limitation on the power of the legislature to appropriate money for public purposes. Under the new constitution an executive budget is provided for vesting in the governor full responsibility for preparing and submitting to the legislature within fifteen days after it assembles in biennial session, a consolidated budget containing all expenditures which in his opinion should be undertaken and a proposed method for obtaining the required revenues. Such a budget is to be prepared after having full and comprehensive reports from all officers and departments expending or supervising the expenditure of state money. Public hearings are provided for on these reports. Estimates submitted by the legislative and judicial departments cannot be revised by the governor, but he may make such recommendations as he thinks proper with reference to them.

The new constitution provides that the budget "shall contain all the estimates so revised or certified and shall be accompanied by a bill or bills for all proposed appropriations and re-appropriations, clearly itemized; it shall show the estimated revenues for the ensuing fiscal biennial period and the estimated surplus or deficit of revenues at the end of the current fiscal period, together with the measures of taxation, if any, or for borrowings, if any, which the governor may propose for the increase or decrease of revenues; it shall be accompanied by a statement of the current assets, liabilities, reserves and surplus or deficit of the state; statements of the debts and funds of the state; an estimate of its financial condition as of the beginning and end of the biennial period; such other information as may be required by law and a statement of revenues and expenditures for the biennial period next preceding, in a form suitable for comparison. The

governor may, before final action thereon by the legislature, amend or supplement the budget."

The legislature is permitted to reduce but not increase the items in the budget. All additional appropriations must be in the form of special bills carrying provisions for the necessary revenue and subject to the item veto of the governor.

With reference to the governor and executive heads appearing in the legislature to defend the budget, it is provided that, "It shall be the right of the governor and the heads of executive departments, and it shall be the duty of the heads of departments, when requested, to appear in either House of the General Assembly and be heard and to answer inquiries relating to the budget." The legislature is not permitted to pass any other appropriation bills until the governor's budget has been finally acted upon by both houses.

The budget when passed by the legislature with or without amendments shall become a law immediately without approval by the governor except that appropriations for the legislature and judiciary shall be subject to his approval.

TAXATION AND REVENUE

Among the outstanding changes in the new constitution affecting taxation and revenue may be mentioned the one which authorizes cities to borrow money on the security of public utilities for the purpose of constructing, acquiring, altering, enlarging, extending or improving public utilities, which indebtedness shall be payable exclusively from the income and revenues or proceeds of sale of such public utilities. Cities are also enabled by another provision with a two-thirds vote to create and maintain a permanent improvement revolving fund for the purpose of financing directly all

special tax bills for local improvements such as construction of streets, alleys, and so on.

Another important change is the provision classifying all property for purposes of taxation. Inasmuch as the state supreme court has recently declared a mortgage recording tax and a secured debt tax unconstitutional, this amendment is very much in point.

MUNICIPALITIES

Municipalities are to be classified and the legislature is especially prohibited from making further classifications. The classifications provided run as follows:

First—All cities of 70,000 or more population and would include St. Louis, Kansas City, and St. Joseph.

Second—All cities of 25,000 to 70,000 population and would include Springfield and Joplin.

Third—All cities ranging from 3,000 to 25,000 population and would at present include fifty-two cities.

Fourth—All cities ranging from 500 to 3,000.

Villages—Communities of less than 500.

Cities of the first class would be allowed to consolidate their governments in whole or in part with those of the counties in which they are located.

Under the present constitution the legislature and governor conduct the police departments of St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph (the cities of the first class), and fix the compensation and qualification of policemen. Under the new provision these cities are authorized to establish and maintain their own police departments subject to the right of the governor, at his discretion, to remove any police commissioner or commissioners, but the governor shall have no authority to fill any vacancy thus incurred.

Cities of the first three classes are

authorized to frame, adopt and amend their charters. How sweeping are the home rule provisions may be seen from the following:

Except as otherwise provided in this constitution every city which has or shall adopt a special charter is hereby declared to possess for all municipal purposes full and complete power of self-government and corporate action. No enumeration of powers in this constitution or in any law shall be deemed to limit or restrict the general grant of authority conferred; but this grant of authority shall not be deemed to limit or restrict control by laws of the state on matters of general state concern or operation, as distinguished from those of local concern and municipal government, and provided that as to such matters as are of both local and state concern city charters and ordinances shall not be in conflict with but shall be subordinate to the general laws of the state upon the same subject.

Thus it is observed that cities are to be given complete control over their own affairs purely local in character, acts of the legislature to the contrary notwithstanding. They would be authorized, among other things,

To determine what agencies shall be necessary to conduct their affairs, the distribution of powers among such agencies, the mode of selection, duties, qualifications, tenure, method of removal and compensation of all officers and employes;

To levy, assess and collect taxes and to borrow money, within the limits prescribed by the constitution; and to levy and collect special assessments on the basis of local benefits;

To acquire by gift, condemnation or otherwise own, establish, maintain and police, either within or without its corporate limits, parks, boulevards, which have cemeteries, hospitals and all works which involve the public health or safety;

To provide for one or more houses of legislation to be elected by general ticket or by the voters of the several

wards or districts of the city or village;

By and with the consent of a majority of the qualified voters voting at an election submitting the proposition, to acquire by condemnation or otherwise, construct, own, operate, sell or pledge public utilities for wholly or in part supplying water, light, heat, gas and power to the municipality and its inhabitants and, to the extent and in the manner prescribed by law, for supplying water, light, heat, gas, and power beyond its corporate limits;

To acquire by condemnation or otherwise, construct, own, operate, sell or pledge subways, lines and equipment for whole or in part supplying transportation to the municipality and its inhabitants and to the extent and in the manner prescribed by law for supplying transportation beyond its corporate limits;

To rent, lease or let and authorize the operation of any utility subway lines or equipment owned by it to private individuals or corporations or other municipal corporations.

The right of cities to create zones for the regulation and use of land and structures, now under question in the state supreme court, is written into the new constitution as well as a provision authorizing excess condemnation of land for public improvements.

The new constitution provides specifically that the state retains the right to control all elections, public utilities, to demand financial reports, to limit city indebtedness, to regulate education and all other matters of a general state concern and operation. There was an attempt to establish home rule for Missouri cities in the present constitution adopted in 1875, but that was defeated by a clause requiring all home rule provisions to be subject to the general laws of the state, thus enabling the legislature at will, for forty-eight

years to enact legislation for each of the cities.

St. Louis, by the provisions of the present constitution, was separated from St. Louis county. For some purposes it is a county, for others it is a city. It cannot expand without crossing the boundary line into St. Louis county, and this would require constitutional amendment. It is proposed to relieve St. Louis of this embarrassing situation by providing for it three avenues of expansion:

First—It is provided that counties may by a majority vote of each county concerned, be consolidated into one, and that St. Louis for this purpose is to be regarded as a county. This amendment would enable the city of St. Louis and St. Louis county to merge into a county or a city-county.

Second—Cities, including St. Louis, are authorized to extend their boundaries and annex contiguous cities without reference to county lines, provided such annexations are approved by a majority of the voters of the territory affected. This section of the new constitution, of course, applies to such other cities as Kansas City, St. Joseph and others, but is of most direct concern to St. Louis.

Third—St. Louis may return to and

become a part of St. Louis county and then expand in the usual way.

Another provision relating to St. Louis specifies that the board of aldermen, which is now elected at large from wards, shall, in the future, be elected by wards. At present, with the members of the board elected at large, all are Republicans, but with this proposed change the Democrats will gain representation.

SECTIONS TO BE SEPARATELY SUBMITTED

Profiting by the experience of other states, notably New York and Illinois, which submitted their revised constitutions to the people to be approved or rejected as a whole with the result that they were rejected, the Missouri constitution makers have decided to submit the revised sections to the people in the form of twenty amendments to the constitution and one amendment to the schedule which contains provisions for carrying the constitution into effect. The form of the ballot permits separate vote on each amendment, and a majority of the votes cast on any amendment is sufficient for its adoption or rejection.

The date set for the vote on the new provisions is February 26, 1924.

BRIEF REVIEW OF CITY PLANNING IN THE UNITED STATES, 1923

BY THEODORA KIMBALL

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RECENT news is at hand from nearly two hundred and fifty cities and towns—a hundred more than last year—including city planning, zoning, and regional or county planning in forty-two states of the Union and the territory of Hawaii. The southern states are all represented, Oklahoma being conspicuous in the southwest, and the far-western states of Wyoming, Idaho, and Nevada appearing for the first time.

THE MOVEMENT ESTABLISHED

Of the sixty-eight cities in this country having a population of 100,000 or over, news has been received in 1923 from almost all. In every one of the forty largest cities there is or has been at work an *official* city planning or zoning commission, and construction of public improvements is now proceeding in the great majority according to well-considered plans. The United States department of commerce issued a statement that on September 1, 1923, 40 per cent of the urban population of the United States lived in the 183 zoned cities, towns and villages,—more than 22,000,000 people. When there shall be added to these the residents of the municipalities now engaged in drafting zoning ordinances, over one fourth of the total population of the country will be enjoying the protection thus afforded. The extension of the advantages of zoning and comprehensive planning to the areas surrounding municipalities is the next step, on which

a beginning has already been made. In all of the cities belonging to the metropolitan class studies have been undertaken or are being initiated which recognize the planning problem as transcending political boundaries.

The very considerable body of city planning experience already accumulated and recorded in print is attested by the extensive bibliography in the writer's *Manual of Information on City Planning and Zoning* published this year (Harvard University Press). A comparison with the bibliography published eight years earlier shows the progress from private efforts and tentative technique to official support and acceptance of technical diagnosis.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

The organization of committees in leading cities all over the United States, undertaken by the American Civic Association, for the protection and enlargement of the plan of our own national capital is an event of importance. The committee in Washington itself is already very active and will bring in an early report intended to stimulate favorable congressional action.

The most striking event of the year was the voting of bond issues in St. Louis totalling \$87,000,000 for public improvements, of which \$25,000,000 was for projects directly emanating from the City Plan Commission. It is rumored that the St. Louis Plan is to be recorded in a monumental volume

analogous to the reports for Chicago and Minneapolis. News from Philadelphia has just arrived of the bond issues totalling over \$70,000,000 voted by the citizens in November, covering the Delaware River Bridge, subways, art museum, and many other important features of Philadelphia's plans. The Pittsburgh Plan prepared by the Citizens' Committee on City Plan was officially announced as completed at a memorable dinner held June first, and public assurance was then given of the co-operation of the city government. The committee's excellent work in furtherance of the plan will continue. Buffalo, not to be outdone by Pittsburgh in enterprise and enthusiasm, has also besides its official department a live City Planning Association with a program, like Pittsburgh, embracing its metropolitan region.

During the year, marked by the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Greater New York, the Plan of New York and its Environs fostered by the Sage Foundation has announced the completion of its preliminary survey studies made in the six sectors by the group of six consultants,—Messrs. Adams, Olmsted, Nolen, Bartholomew, Ford and Bennett,—a summary of the results to be published later in report form. The plan's notable economic survey of the region by Professors McCrea and Haig is also soon to appear.

Los Angeles deserves particular mention for the \$26,500,000 bond issue recently voted covering several important features of its planning program. Baltimore, like Pittsburgh and Chicago successful in the passage of a zoning ordinance this year, shares with Los Angeles the distinction of having assured its port development scheme. Boston reports the largest annual official appropriation (\$32,000) for city planning studies in proportion to

population of any metropolitan city, being second only to Chicago (\$40,000) in actual amount. Detroit's record of state, county and municipal co-operation in carrying out comprehensive improvements is enviable. The contract between the city of Paterson, N. J., and the Erie Railroad to eliminate twenty-three grade crossings in accordance with the Swan-Tuttle report of last year will be encouraging to other cities similarly hampered.

Of the educational campaigns carried on this year, in addition to the long-successful publicity work of Chicago, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Buffalo, that in Norfolk, Va., is noteworthy because of the interest aroused among the colored as well as white population by the prizes for school children's essays on planning and zoning. These were offered by the Technical Advisory Corporation in connection with the preparation of comprehensive plans there.

The new industrial town in the Pacific Northwest, Longview, being platted by Hare and Hare and, like Palos Verdes and Mariemont, to be built according to the most modern town planning principles, had the advantage of some of the last professional advice which Mr. George E. Kessler gave before his untimely death last March. There has been no such gap in the ranks of the protagonists of town planning since Mr. Charles Mulford Robinson's death in 1917. Mr. Kessler's work, particularly in the southwest, has had a far-reaching effect on municipal development.

PROGRESS IN CONSTRUCTION

The Detroit City Plan Commission (T. Glenn Phillips, consultant-secretary) reports progress on the widening of Woodward Avenue from Detroit to Pontiac—a distance of twenty miles—from 66 to 204 feet, and other

notable city and county street improvements, besides extraordinary headway on the park system. Chicago also has advanced a large number of plan features, including both street and park projects. In Milwaukee public improvements on a large scale are going forward. The St. Louis Major Street Plan is in full swing, seventy-five openings and widenings being under way. Memphis is proceeding along the lines of the Planning Commission-Bartholomew plans.

In Boston the western traffic artery is in full use and proceedings for the Cambridge-Court street widening in the heart of the city just undertaken. Among southern cities Spartanburg, S. C., reports street improvements being carried out in accordance with Mr. Nolen's comprehensive plans.

In Washington the improvement of the area around the Lincoln Memorial marks another step in realizing the park commission plan. Denver's civic center shows progress, and further work on the Fairmount Parkway in Philadelphia brings it nearer to completion before the Sesqui-centennial.

LEGISLATION

As a supplement to his *Law of City Planning and Zoning*, news of current zoning legislation and court decisions has appeared monthly in the *American City* since June, 1923, in a department conducted by Frank B. Williams, Esq. For this the extensive information collected by Edward M. Bassett, Esq., for the Zoning Committee of New York is made available. The legal aid of Mr. Bassett throughout the country in promoting and stabilizing zoning has continued and increased. The legal researches of both these gentlemen in connection with the Plan of New York should prove of far-reaching value. The stimulus to the passage of com-

prehensive state zoning enabling acts given by the department of commerce standard act is gratifying, Iowa being one of the states successful in following it closely. The spread of zoning ordinances in Pennsylvania,—until now notable for their absence,—is expected, pursuant to the passage by the assembly of 1923 of an act authorizing cities of the third class, boroughs, and first-class townships to zone.

Counties may now zone in Wisconsin,—an important advance,—and the studies now in progress by Mr. Bassett and Mr. Williams as to desirable methods of regional zoning for Long Island focus on a new charter for Nassau county that will be most instructive to other county authorities.

Perhaps the most important group of city planning laws of the year has been passed in Ohio, sponsored by the Ohio State City Planning Conference, of which Alfred Bettman, Esq., was president. Regional and county planning commissions are authorized, and the enforcement of officially adopted city plans by control of new platting and subdivisions provided for. Cincinnati was the first city to take advantage of the latter law.

An event of 1923 is the inauguration of the Williams prize essay in some phase of city planning law, intended to promote interest among university students. It was won by Mr. Tracy B. Augur, a graduate of the Harvard School of Landscape Architecture, the subject set being "The Laws and Regulations Relating to Platting of Land in the United States as Affecting the Desirability of Lots for Dwelling Purposes" (published in *Landscape Architecture* for October, 1923.)

It is expected that a comprehensive survey of planning legislation for 1923 by Mr. Williams will appear in an early issue of the *American City* to which the reader is referred.

METROPOLITAN, REGIONAL, AND STATE
PLANNING

Two constructive contributions to our conception of planning in the broader sense have appeared during the year: Mr. Comey's *Regional Planning Theory* and Mr. Whitten's scheme of open development strips explained in his paper before the National Conference on City Planning at Baltimore. The work of the specialists engaged on the Plan of New York and its Environs is also pushing the circle of our knowledge farther out, as well as stimulating like action in other cities.

As compared with a year ago, the gain in regional activity is enormous. Los Angeles has secured an official county planning commission; Boston has succeeded in obtaining the division of metropolitan planning in the Metropolitan District Commission; Milwaukee has a live county park commission and rural planning board. Pittsburgh's Allegheny County Commission is at work in full co-operation with the City Plan Commission and Citizens' Committee. Chicago has just formed the Chicago Regional Planning Association with representatives from the huge industrial region extending as far as Milwaukee and including also the northern corner of Indiana, the Association being an outgrowth of the committee appointed at the City Club conferences last March and pledged to a broad program outlined in the scheme of surveys and procedure drawn up with the advice of Mr. Jacob L. Crane, Jr., for the City Club committee. The fifty-mile radius and interstate area are analogous to the scope of the New York regional undertaking.

A Detroit metropolitan district is being studied. Buffalo and Cleveland are both awake to regional needs,

under the leadership respectively of the City Planning Association of Buffalo and the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. The City Plan Commission of St. Louis is also initiating a movement for regional planning. San Francisco is looking to arouse interest in the whole San Mateo Peninsula development. Mr. Whitten's work in Rhode Island cities, the Olmsted and Technical Advisory Corporation work in New Jersey, Mr. Bennett's in the vicinity of Chicago, Mr. Nolen's at Wyomissing (Pa.) and Mr. Phillips's in Wayne County (Mich.) might be especially mentioned for their regional character. The regional demonstration work conducted by Mr. Haldeman of the Pennsylvania State Bureau of Municipalities in the Allentown-Bethlehem region, following the earlier Wilkes-Barre study, is notable.

The Los Angeles County Planning Commission's program, in operation since last January, has especial interest because its secretary, Mr. G. Gordon Whitnall, reports such a rate of progress that real results will be ready for inspection at the meeting in Los Angeles in April, 1924, of the National Conference on City Planning.

New York has this year established a bureau of housing and regional planning in the state department of architecture, thus becoming the fourth state to maintain an official bureau for fostering city planning. Massachusetts has recently secured an appropriation for and appointed a field worker to extend the work of its town planning division. Pennsylvania's state activities have been increased by the formation of the association of city planning commissions of cities of the third class, and the undertaking of a regular news bulletin. Successful state city planning association meetings have been held in 1923, also in California, in

Massachusetts and Iowa, both states where interest is kept warm by the issue of periodic bulletins, Indiana, where a new organization (Indiana State Conference on City Planning) was formed, and Ohio, notable for the resulting body of legislation already mentioned.

COMPREHENSIVE CITY PLAN REPORTS

While city planning activity has increased tremendously during the year, a less number than usual of comprehensive plan reports have been published. Those for three cities and one town are of especial interest. The St. Paul report (Bennett & Parsons, consultants, George H. Herrold, city plan engineer) is the result of full surveys and contains detailed solutions of the city's problems. It is a thoughtful report appropriate to the city, well presented and valuable for study by other communities. Aerial photographs are used effectively to show the problems discussed.

The report for the Wilkes-Barre region by the Pennsylvania Bureau of Municipalities, published in 1922 too late for inclusion in last year's survey, is a well-illustrated publication interesting not only for what it contains, but also as a result of the state's first regional planning work. It has been actively promoted by the officials and Chamber of Commerce of Wilkes-Barre.

The Elkhart (Ind.) Chamber of Commerce is responsible for the report by Messrs. Nolen and Foster, just published and presented to the city by the chamber. It is a live report, including zoning, and has already reached all classes of the community by its striking appeal.

Mr. A. A. Shurtleff's Norwood report is notable because of its excellent appearance and because Norwood has maintained an exceptionally high stand-

ard of development with great possibilities of preserving this in the future. A zoning ordinance drafted by John P. Fox is included. Mr. Shurtleff's statement of the value of a comprehensive plan to a town which caps the report is particularly worth reading.

The annual report of the Atlanta City Planning Commission (Robert Whitten, consultant) contains a comprehensive planning program which will follow up the good work already accomplished by the zoning ordinance. In the latest annual report for the town of Dedham, Mass., a neighbor of Norwood's, Mr. Shurtleff outlines planning needs.

The biennial report of the Honolulu City Planning Commission contained in the mayor's official volume is worth mention because of the excellent work already accomplished, especially in street planning of undeveloped surrounding areas.

The unpublished comprehensive plans now in progress are numerous; and some available record of these may be hoped for in the future. The report for Springfield, Ill. (American Park Builders) is to be published shortly, and the final report for Springfield, Mass. (Technical Advisory Corporation) will make public an extensive body of information on planning technique.

ZONING

Zoning was the first choice of subjects for discussion in the ballot on the program for the recent convention of the League of California Municipalities, taking precedence over street improvements, finances and so on. It was a leading feature at the National Conference on Housing called by the National Housing Association at Philadelphia early in December; and it has played a part in practically every convention program dealing with municipi-

pal problems. The zoning round-tables conducted by Mr. Bassett at the National Conference on City Planning at Baltimore elicited much news and valuable comparison of experience, and Baltimore itself offered opportunity for studying the interesting work of Major Shirley and Mr. Grinnalds.

General state zoning enabling acts should be noted as passed in 1923 in Delaware, Iowa, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and Wyoming, besides additional legislation and acts pertaining to specific cities in several other states. Among the cities which have enacted zoning ordinances during 1923 may be named Baltimore, Chicago, Columbus, Indianapolis, Kansas City (Mo.), Pittsburgh, Providence, Raleigh, Sacramento, Seattle, Springfield (Mass.), and Toledo. Boston has its zoning survey in advanced stages; Philadelphia, where a new zoning committee was recently appointed has been, trying to get action by passing an ordinance covering West Philadelphia alone before carrying through the whole program; Detroit has not yet succeeded in overcoming opposition to the ordinance offered last year; and the Lincoln (Neb.) ordinance is also pending. Cincinnati and Oklahoma City have zoning ordinances on the way through. The zoning movement in Denver and Nashville is just getting under way.

The strengthening of clauses in the New York zoning ordinance continues to predominate over the relaxing. The realtors of Evanston, Ill., report that zoning has raised the city's valuation 100 per cent in one year. Atlanta reports nine months of very successful operation under its zoning ordinance. The officials of St. Louis state that since the enactment of the zoning ordinance in 1918 only one out of every two hundred prospective builders has found cause for complaint against the provisions of the ordinance. Honolulu,

having passed a zoning ordinance in 1922, reports satisfaction with its results.

STREET SYSTEM IMPROVEMENTS

Mr. Raymond Unwin, the distinguished town planner, revisiting America after a lapse of a dozen years, was struck forcibly by the "difficulty of moving about in towns." There is scarcely a city engaged in planning work which does not report increasing or intolerable traffic congestion. The special studies published this year by Mr. Swan on the relief of this congestion and Mr. Young's studies of automobile parking with special reference to Chicago, presented before the National Conference on City Planning, are both noteworthy. The interest of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce in city planning as an aid to solving traffic problems should also be recorded.

Notable features of the year in street system improvement are: the official recognition of the Pittsburgh Major Plan by resolution of city council; the Tuttle proposal for arcading Vesey Street in New York; the rearrangements promoted by the Property Owners' Association in Dallas, Tex.; the spirit of co-operation among property owners in Atlanta, Ga., shown by the voluntary dedications for street widenings; the adoption of the Cincinnati street plan; and the work on a main thoroughfare plan for Indianapolis, under the guidance of Mr. Whitten and Mr. Sheridan. The Los Angeles Traffic Commission composed of representative citizens co-operating with the City Plan Commission and others has published a traffic program for the greater city touching all phases of the street traffic problem and related matters, and has just engaged the services of Messrs. Olmsted, Bartholomew, and Cheney to prepare a comprehensive major street plan.

RAPID TRANSIT, RAILROAD TERMINALS
AND PORT DEVELOPMENT

Several important transit reports have been published this year: for Pittsburgh as a part of the Pittsburgh Plan; for the Boston Metropolitan District by the Massachusetts Department of Public Utilities; for Chicago by Mr. Kelker; and for New York by the Merchants' Association and the New York Transit Commission, the latter offering newly studied solutions in Mr. Turner's recently published reports. The Philadelphia rapid transit plan revised from the earlier Taylor report is now ready to go forward. Rapid transit studies by Mr. Bibbins are in progress in both Detroit and Indianapolis.

The Springfield (Mass.) City Planning Board has issued a report on its railroad situation containing a review and a forecast based on the Technical Advisory Corporation's study.

The City Plan Commission has approved and the city adopted the Water Front Development Plan prepared for Portland by the city engineer, Mr. Laurgaard, including not only river terminals but also the rehabilitation of an entire blighted district.

One of the most important port plans yet published is the Report of the Baltimore Port Development Commission, based on comprehensive recommendations by local and consulting experts and assured of realization by the 50-million-dollar bond issues authorized under the commission's enabling act.

PARK SYSTEMS

Two important investigations are proceeding looking toward the promotion of adequate park systems. Mr. Bassett's "inquiries aim to develop a constitutional method of legislation to bring about the dedication of small parks or playgrounds before the land is

built over and at pro rata expense to the surrounding land,"—a study of the highest significance to regional planning. The Playground and Recreation Association of America in co-operation with other interested bodies is analyzing collected information on playground development.

The Pittsburgh parks report, the fourth unit in the Citizens' Committee plan, is an exceedingly interesting document, formulated under the direction of Mr. Bigger with the co-operation of committee members and the superintendent of parks. The report on the Union County (N. J.) park system containing the studies by Olmsted Brothers parallels their work on the adjacent Essex County Parks already highly developed. An account by Mr. Whitnall in *Parks and Recreation* (March-April, 1923) records tentative studies for the Milwaukee Metropolitan Park System.

In Detroit signal progress on the park system is reported including work on the forty-six-mile outer drive while a project inventory of January last shows practically the entire playground system recommended by the Detroit City Plan Commission already acquired. In Indianapolis park acquisition forms an important part of the present extensive public works program, in accordance with the park system plans completed by Mr. Kessler just before his death. Dallas is also substantially increasing its park area.

Buffalo's Erie County Park Commission bill failed of passage in the 1923 legislature, but there is hope that it will pass in 1924. During the year Iowa has enacted legislation fostering the establishment of playgrounds throughout the state. The friends of the Plan of Washington are hoping for the extension of the Washington Park System by action of the present congress.

CIVIC CENTERS AND CIVIC ART

The civic centers of St. Louis and Los Angeles are assured by the bond issues recently voted. The Los Angeles scheme prepared by Cook and Hall for the City Planning Commission has received much publicity. Progress on the Columbus civic center approved two years ago has been made, on the Denver group, and also on the State Capitol Park at Harrisburg. The fiftieth anniversary of the Fairmount Park Art Association was celebrated by a volume of historical interest in city planning an account of the Association's work for the Fairmount Parkway and surrounding public buildings.

The Committee on City Plan of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce has drawn up a public building program for the city and county of particular interest in connection with the development of the civic center plan. Mr. Bennett of Chicago calls attention to the significance of the architectural improvement in Chicago's public works now showing co-ordination of engineering and architectural skill.

The space allotted to this article in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW does not permit a more extended mention of reports of special activities. A fuller account by the writer with a bibliography of plan reports for 1922-23 will be found in *Landscape Architecture*, for January, 1924, also reprinted.

THE LOOK AHEAD

We have many planning projects to hear from in 1924. To mention a few at random in north, east, south, and west: Chattanooga, Louisville, Richmond, New Orleans, Houston, Pasadena, Los Angeles, Oklahoma City, Kansas City (Kan.), Des Moines, Denver, Boise City, Bismarck, Grand Rapids, Gary, Evansville, De Kalb, Cincinnati, Dayton, Columbus, Ashtabula, Schenectady, Albany, Springfield and North Adams (Mass.), Boston, New Haven, Bethlehem, York, and Altoona (Pa.).

The experience of Pennsylvania, where the Bureau of Municipalities has been successfully at work for several years, points especially to the value of interesting municipal officials in city planning work. While great strides in this direction have been made already, our hope for increasing progress lies in educating town and city officials and members of state legislatures throughout the country to appreciate the need of comprehensive planning and of co-operation in planning among communities in the same region. Particularly is this true for small towns and villages not yet afflicted with the evils of congestion. Although space has not permitted here the mention by name of many smaller places responsible for excellent planning work in 1923, their achievement is none the less a challenge to dozens of their neighbors to go and do likewise.

OUR LEGISLATIVE MILLS

VII. NEBRASKA

BY RALPH S. BOOTS

University of Nebraska

How the legislature behaves itself in a state in which the individual members pride themselves on independence of a tight political machine.

THE tone of the Nebraska legislature has been considerably elevated within the last twenty years. The session of 1905 is supposed, if one may accept the press opinion, to have marked the end of railway control through the free pass. Thereafter, until the session of 1917, the liquor interests are said to have exercised a predominant influence and to have elected the governors, 1912-1916. The adoption of the I. and R. in 1912 and of a prohibitory amendment in 1916 weakened the power of this group which had been allied with various corporate interests.

The excellence of the membership in 1913 is said to have thrown into relief the defects of legislative methods. That year witnessed the appointment of a special committee to propose reforms in procedure, many of whose suggestions were adopted in 1915. One can hardly believe now that not so long ago a cabinet of liquors graced the walls of the house, to which some employee was authorized to admit members at their pleasure. Only one man last year seemed to be in attendance under the influence of intoxicants, although cloves might have been advantageously chewed by one or two others. Members are not taken to bawdy houses as a form of entertainment. The house still presents a sort of rough and ready appearance, and sometimes lively horse-play is indulged in. When one member this year an-

nounced the body by his much talking, his colleagues left the room and two or three took the fire hose from the wall and marched down the center aisle playing a stream in front of them. The deluge was less complete, because the faulty hose broke. On another occasion the speaker called to the chair a member who was sitting in vest and shirt sleeves, and delay in responding to the speaker's call was necessitated by his putting on his shoes, which he proceeded to lace after taking possession of the gavel.

COMPOSITION OF THE LEGISLATURE

The structure of the Nebraska legislature presents no unusual features. As in about one-third of the states, the senators and representatives serve equal terms of two years. Both are elected at the same time. The house contains the constitutional maximum of one hundred members and the senate thirty-three members, although an amendment originating in the convention of 1919-1920 permitted an increase to fifty. Another amendment requires the election of members from single-member districts instead of by counties. Lancaster formerly elected six representatives at large and Douglas county twelve, and several others two each. This change is held responsible by some persons for the appearance of a few "freaks" at the last session who could not have been elected on a

county-wide ticket. Perhaps one may say that the representative character of the legislature has been improved by the change. It seems quite certain that the cohesiveness of the county delegations has been weakened. The redistricting of 1921 seems to have been accomplished with little or no gerrymandering. No part of any county is attached to another county to make a district. One representative is elected for every 12,955 people, excluding aliens; the least populous district contains 7,644 people and the most populous, 19,494. The senatorial ratio is 39,258, and the populations of the several districts range from 31,920 to 46,893.

In the five sessions, 1913-1921, five hundred persons were elected to the house. Of this number 144, or 29 per cent, served two or more terms in house or senate, but not necessarily within these years; twenty-five served three terms; sixteen four terms; four five terms; one seven terms; and one eight terms. In the senate for the same period, of the 165 members elected, thirty-four served two terms; fifteen served three terms; eleven served four; two six; and two seven,—a total of sixty-four experienced members, or 39 per cent.

The committee on reform of procedure in 1915 recommended a reduction in the number of senate committees from forty-two to twenty-seven, and of house committees from forty-seven to twenty-eight. A reduction in the membership of committees was also urged. The senate of 1921 provided for thirty standing committees, exclusive of those on arrangement, etc., engrossed and enrolled bills, with a total membership of 192, so that each senator served, on an average, on six committees. Eight of these committees received none of the 351 senate file bills, and six others received fewer than five bills each.

The house in 1921 contained twenty-nine standing committees, besides those excepted above, with a total membership of 255, each representative belonging, on an average, to two and one-half committees. Eleven of these committees received ten bills or fewer; the judiciary committee received 107, and seven others from thirty-four to fifty-five each. Six hundred twenty-four bills were introduced in the house. Of the 183 senate file bills referred to house committees, five committees received 117. Of the twenty-eight committees this year, ten received ten bills, or fewer, of the total of 724 introduced, while five committees received forty bills or more each, the judiciary committee disposing of 230. The designations of the committees indicate that they cover the field of state legislation quite effectively and without material overlapping or omission.

COMMITTEES

The rules of the house provide for the assignment of members to the standing committees by a committee on committees, composed of two members from each congressional district and one at large. The representatives from each congressional district seem to choose the members of the committee on committees for that district. Committees in the senate are appointed by the senate, and in practice a scheme very much like that of the house prevails. These committees represent, of course, the majority party. They determine the relative strength of the parties on the standing committees. This year the senate selecting committee received the preferences of the various senators and recorded them on a chart to facilitate the disposal of members according to their preferences. Five Democrats, one-half the total number

in the senate, received chairmanships. The house committee on committees requested the Democratic caucus to present a list of Democrats and alternates for the minority party places. No alternates were proposed and the Democrats seem to have been assigned exactly in accordance with their party's recommendation. The house committees elect their chairmen by an absolute majority vote, and the one on insurance chose a Democrat. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the committees on committees are selected largely on the basis of experience and ability, with emphasis probably on the former qualification, and that there is not much preliminary manipulation involved. The adoption of the method of electing committees, to replace appointment, is considered one of the most important changes in the practice of the legislature. Nevertheless, it would be quite unreasonable to suppose that persons interested especially in some particular program or measure should not employ strategy at this point. Likewise these selecting committees are said to be actuated by an honest purpose to make up the standing committees from the best qualified men with little regard for the prospective outcome of their action on bills. A capable new member of the house was made chairman of the revenue and taxation committee. The chairman of the house committee on committees claims to have placed every man from his congressional district on the committee of his first choice, and himself to have been outvoted several times in the standing committee of which he was elected chairman. Some committees are one-sided by chance because persons of similar points of view asked for places on them. It is said that committees prefer ordinarily to send important bills out to the houses rather than

to take the responsibility for killing them.

There is general agreement that it is difficult to reverse the action of a committee on a bill, yet the majority may have its way, since only a majority is required for the purpose, and committee action was reversed several times during the last session. A bill for the repeal of the rule of assessment of intangible personalty at 25 per cent of its value received ninety-nine votes in the house and was not reported out of the senate committee, yet no particular rumpus was raised. The introducer conceded that it could not pass, and finally senate action took it from the committee and laid it on the table. In 1915 the house passed by a vote of nine to one a resolution for the submission to the voters of the question of calling a constitutional convention, which the senate defeated. These actions seem to support the common opinion that the senate is much more conservative than the house, although they are in a degree difficult to explain, since practically the only structural difference between the bodies lies in the fact that senatorial districts are three times the size of those of the house. It is quite probable that conservative business interests of the state take special pains to oversee the elections of senators.

The rules require all committees to report within four days in the senate, and five days in the house. Hardly any attention is paid to the rule. The explanation offered by members is that it requires the impossible. Relatively few bills, however, die in committee although they may not be acted upon until late in the session. The records seem to show that only nine senate files died in house committees in 1921, and none in senate committees; about fifty house rolls died in house committees, and only six in senate com-

mittees. This year the corresponding figures are: eleven, two, ninety-five, and nine.

Schedules of committee meetings are required to be adopted and posted in each house, and records of the votes in committees are to be kept. The rules of the house stipulate that this record shall be made part of the report on bills and entered in the journal. The poll of the committee is required to be made part of the report only if demanded by two members of the committee. Records of divisions are pretty regularly kept by the chairmen or the secretaries of the committees, especially the larger ones, but neither these nor the votes of individual members are entered upon the journals and it is not probable that the information could be obtained at the close of the session. As a usual thing newspapers carry the votes of members of committees on important measures.

There is little sentiment in either house for the use of joint committees. Committees are almost always fair in their treatment of bills.

Despite the recommendations of the committee on procedure already referred to, that committee meetings be held in the forenoons and sessions in the afternoons, the committees continue to meet after the adjournment for the day. Regular meetings are held for the house from four to six o'clock, and the rules of each house require final action on bills to be taken only at regularly scheduled meetings in daylight hours. Early in the session the house committees meet quite strictly according to schedule, but they become lax later on, and only the more important senate committees find it possible to follow a schedule because of the overlapping membership of committees. The special committee of 1915 asserted that the committee work of the legislature had become

a farce. In the opinion of thoughtful persons it is still a weak spot in the chain of procedure, although perhaps conducted in a manner superior to that of most state legislatures. Almost the only suggestions for improving the committee system submitted by members who responded to an extensive questionnaire were these: Reduce the number of bills; use a secret ballot (for committee action apparently); record the vote of members (directly contrary to the preceding); use joint committees; employ a committee (early in the session) to correlate bills relating to the same subject; prevent lobbying; and ignore petitions.

VOTERS NOT ACQUAINTED WITH LEGISLATORS

Even in Nebraska the voters are none too well acquainted with their legislators. Probably when the candidate is well known, the most important influence in determining the action of the voters is his character, ability and general qualifications. The influence of party, it is said, is not strong enough to cause the choice of a distinctly inferior candidate merely through the effect of party affiliation, but since the voters do not often know the candidates well, party is likely to be the dominant factor, especially in the selection of senators. It is altogether probable that the people think they are more independent of the party tie than they really are and, indeed, that members are similarly self-deceived. Few are the legislators who do not admit adherence to one or the other of the two old parties.

An active campaign counts considerably if the candidate is moderately well qualified, and if he takes a fairly definite position on public questions. The party platform, except as it is presented by the candidates for the legislature, probably has little influence

on the outcome, although a number of members believe it appeals to the electors. Both platforms called for the repeal of the indeterminate sentence law in 1922, but it is still on the statute books.

The members are generally free to vote their convictions on measures, and when they do not do so their action is determined by considerations of local sentiment, or partisanship, or by trades, or by the influence of the lobby, or friendship. There seems to be little control of members' action by so-called "county rings," though it is conceded that the advice of local officers of the same party carries considerable weight, in part because it is supposed to correspond to the views of constituents generally. The custom of passing the honor around accounts in a measure for the lack of a greater percentage of experienced members, as do also the sacrifice involved in accepting the office, and the swing of the voters from party to party on state-wide or national questions.

BLOCS AND LEADERSHIP

The most noticeable non-party group in the recent session was the farm bloc. Frequent meetings were held in an effort to concentrate their strength, but they accomplished little due to divisions on local issues and the belief that one or the other was trying to use the group for personal ends. The Omaha delegation tries to hold together for trading purposes. There is a sort of state institution bloc, a local officeholders' entente, and an intangible property interest which one member considered the basis of the outstanding alignment in the house.

Leadership in either house is a matter of chance and personalities. Of the 1913 session the Omaha *World Herald* said, "It has been neither Democratic nor Republican. It has been without

organization, without leadership, or system, without definite plan or purpose. . . . Party obligations were unrecognized, party caucuses under taboo, party authority was hateful. Every man was left to pull for himself." Probably most persons would agree that leadership was largely lacking last year, especially in the senate. There were leaders or would-be leaders in the house, some of whom found it difficult to obtain a following. The basis of this leadership is mainly superior ability or experience and the confidence of the other members; sometimes it rests on an appeal to the party platform, or on the influence of the caucus, or the chairmanship of committees. Several persons believe there is not leadership adequate for securing the best work from the legislature. Hardly anyone admits that a few members run either house, although it is conceded that if a few in each house could coöperate they could largely dominate these bodies. A few sessions ago a single senator to a great extent directed the senate's action. Though the members assert the existence of their independence and intelligence, and the looseness of party organization, it is of course probable that real leaders could lead.

The rules are not used oppressively. The members stand almost on an equality in this particular. There is nearly always an opportunity for everyone to have his fling at his colleagues and the gallery. There is no limitation on the time which a member may speak. The house adopted a five-minute rule this year, it is true, but when anyone in possession of the floor could persuade others to grant their time to him he was allowed to proceed, making the rule of practically no effect. The rules are rather strictly adhered to and impartially administered by the presiding officer, and are seldom em-

played to force measures through. Not until well along in the session will closure be applied, and then mainly to shut off some windy gentlemen who wish to attract public attention.

THE LOBBY

The lobby we shall probably always have with us. The country over in recent years it seems that the public attitude toward the lobbyist is changing. Lobbying has at least taken on a tone of respectability. Its coarser methods have been no doubt in most cases relinquished. Perhaps it appeals to an improved type of legislator. The lobby nowadays serves the legislature as parties are supposed to serve the public—by presenting the issues upon which the lawmakers may act. The Nebraska lobby law, enacted in 1907, forbids the lobbyist personally or directly or by any means to influence any member of the legislature otherwise than by appearing before regular committees, and so on. It requires registration, prohibits employment for compensation contingent on the passage or repeal of any measure, and calls for an itemized statement of expenditures on the part of those employing the assistance of lobbyists. It is somewhat doubtful whether all the paid lobbyists are registered in accordance with the law, and as one legislator put it, "The most dangerous are not always paid." The first provision of the law is a dead letter. This year a resolution which appeared in the senate in favor of enforcing the lobby law failed of passage because the senate thought it could take care of itself without such action. It is doubtful if all the expenditures of money for lobbying are represented in the fifty itemized statements which were filed with the secretary of state for this year.

Most members seem to think the work of the lobby on the whole bene-

ficial rather than detrimental to good legislation because it is the source of almost the only information they get on many bills. Some members will not allow themselves to be approached; some are influenced who think they are not. In the main the members who are influenced by the lobby are not those who determine legislation. The legitimate activity of well-to-do lobbies through the employment of highly-paid attorneys and ex-members as witnesses before the standing committees quite probably results in unpopular, if not bad, legislation.

STRENGTH OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

The extent and intensiveness of party organization vary from session to session. Both parties caucused in each house in 1923, the Republicans in the house perhaps a dozen times or more. The chairman of the Democratic caucus in each house was recognized as a sort of floor leader; a steering committee was also supposed to function in the house. A group of Republicans arranged business with the speaker, distributed its conduct so as to gain support and avoid the appearance of a ruling group. The party organization seems to have less influence in the senate than in the house, and, purely as an organization, not much in either. A few sessions ago the senators were rather amused when at times the divisions of that body followed party lines. One of the causes of a more pronounced display of partisanship this year than usual was the claim of the Democratic governor that he represented the political desires of the people. At the same time the forty-one Democrats of the house, if they could have been held together, were sufficiently numerous to make vetoes effective. The Democratic platform had denounced the mounting expenditures of recent years and the

reorganization of the state administrative departments. These were the partisan issues in the legislature. The situation with reference to these matters affected somewhat the whole attitude of the legislature which did not expect to accomplish much. "The game of politics played for the last three months by both sides under the capitol dome is still on," runs the comment of the *Journal*, and "members of the house apparently are unable to divorce themselves from political issues when it is possible to raise the party cry."

The degree of control exercised by the caucus is doubtful. On the so-called "partisan" questions it is rather complete, and some persons insist that it is employed on no other measures. It seems that twelve Republican members came to Lincoln pledged to repeal the administrative "code," but were won over by the caucus. Only two Republicans failed to line up with the caucus decision on this matter. One of these is said to have introduced no bills, and the other to have felt some loss of standing as a result of his action. In the senate the attitude of the party members toward the nonconformist brother is quite certainly not severe. There is practically unanimous agreement that in neither house does a member have to make terms with any person or organization in order to get his measures considered. The senators themselves also assert that there is little log-rolling; the representatives are by no means so certain. Trading is probably one of the most serious evils of the legislature—it makes the localities supreme. The members view themselves quite distinctly as the agents of their districts.

Opinions differ as to the exertion of outside pressure upon the legislature. The governor exerted the greatest influence with the Democrats. In

several recent sessions before 1923 the Democratic state committee practically organized the legislature. This year the Republican state chairman was not seen around the capitol and was reported to be opposed to the majority's policies. The newly elected United States senator attempted to influence legislative organization and action without much effect.

At every session of the legislature since 1877, except that of 1913, both houses have been controlled by the same party. In 1911 the governor was a Republican and the legislature Democratic; in 1913 the governor was Democratic and the senate Republican; and in 1923 the governor was Democratic and the legislature Republican. Perhaps only the last two governors of these five really attempted to lead the legislature. Governor Aldrich's methods of procedure were direct and vigorous, but his relationship with the opposing party and the "wets" was not cordial. Morehead was "a sort of oily executive"; his attitude toward the legislature was of a negative tone. Nor had Neville much influence with the legislature, though personally more positive, but inexperienced politically. McKelvie had his program put in the party platform and appealed to it in the legislature. His party possessed a "brutal" majority in each house. He called members to his office and his home frequently. Bryan has had experience in newspaper work and seems to have tried mainly to reach the lawmakers by giving his views to the press. He pointed out a method of saving the state several millions of dollars and urged the voters to deluge their representatives with postal-card petitions, but the shower was slight. Bryan consulted members of his party now and then.

If a slight use of the I. and R. constitutes evidence, the work of the legis-

lature has been fairly satisfactory to the people of the state. Only three proposals to amend the constitution have been submitted through the former process, and two of these failed to receive popular approval. A lone statute was proposed by the initiative mainly because legislative submission was thought unconstitutional. Seven enactments have gone to the voters by referendum petition and the legislature has been overruled in five cases.

THE BICAMERAL SYSTEM

Legislators as a rule do not think that the fact that a measure has already passed one house induces the other body to consider it less thoroughly. Probably half the solons admit that the requirement of running the gauntlet in another body eases the passage of a bill through the house first considering it. One well-educated representative believed he could sense a mob spirit in the house, which, flaring up now and then, would result in the killing or passing of several measures in succession without much consideration. Perhaps a dozen times, representatives came to one of the senators during the last session to request his assistance in defeating bills for which they had voted. Imperfections are frequently left in bills which pass one house with the understanding that they will be corrected in the other. A thoroughly capable ex-legislator asserts that it is relatively easy to secure the acceptance of a bill by the house of which one is a member, and that the other house takes an impersonal attitude toward it.

It is somewhat difficult to trace the history of bills from the index of the journals, and consequently the following classification may contain small errors. In 1921, 226 bills passed the house first and went to the senate; thirty-two were indefinitely postponed, seventy-five passed the senate amended, and 119 passed unamended. One

hundred eighty-six bills went to the house from the senate. Approximately sixty-four were indefinitely postponed by that body, fifty-one passed amended, and seventy-one unamended. In 1923, 245 bills came to the senate from the house. The senate committee recommendations were: reported for general file, 118; reported as amended, fifty-seven; and reported for indefinite postponement, fifty-eight. One hundred forty-eight of these bills finally passed the senate. To the house the senate submitted 114 bills, of which the committees placed seventy-six, nine, and seventeen in the three classes noted just above. The house finally accepted fifty-one of these 114 bills. It is obvious that the second chamber is formally, at least, a check upon the action of the first.

There is a definite movement for a unicameral legislature in Nebraska. The committee of 1913 on procedure, already referred to, recommended such a change. The proposal received the support of a majority in the 1915 session, but not enough votes to submit it to popular vote. In the constitutional convention of 1919-20, a resolution for the separate submission of a unicameral proposition was defeated by a tie vote. An initiative petition is now being circulated to put the question on the ballot at the next election. A large percentage of the people approached sign the petition, but the most effective and the usual argument in securing these signatures is that a signature does not signify a preference for a unicameral legislature but only a willingness to give the people a chance to vote on the proposition. This amendment provides for a body of not over one hundred members. A printed folder used in connection with the petition asserts that two classes will be against it from the beginning—the politicians and the corporations representing big business. Despite the

small number of acts passed, and the relative absence of a jam at the close of the session, there are several cases of two acts attempting to amend and repeal the same section of the statutes.

The members this year made an unusually gratifying use of the services of the Legislative Reference Bureau, which employed two bill drafters, one research and two library assistants, and a force of stenographers. The bills handled for 118 members totalled 625, the resolutions, thirty, and the amendments, one hundred. Approximately fifty members sought information from the Bureau on the subject matters of legislation.

The classification of members on the basis of their attitude toward their duties, as made by an experienced representative, is worthy of record. All think they will be excellent or ideal lawmakers before they come to the capitol,—they will vote on every bill strictly on its merits. But they find they cannot keep their heads above the tide of legislation. Some become indifferent; others still try to study measures as much as they can; others resort to log-rolling; and some respond to coaxing or good-fellowship, or the claims of party affiliation. An earnest, intelligent, representative, serving his first term, states that all members can and do talk on the small bills which get most thorough attention at the beginning of the session, but that members cannot understand the more important legislation which is hurried through toward the end. "The average member either will not try to, or cannot, understand a bill over a page and a half in length."

In conclusion it may be said that the legislators are perhaps on the whole seriously minded toward their obligations and fairly representative members of their communities, though not possessed of any special qualifications for their tasks and not very open-

mined, inclined rather to retain their prejudices and traditional views in the face of new ideas. The first step in legislation,—the determination of the fields within which action shall be taken,—is pretty poorly performed. Parties and governors and legislative leaders are generally slow to present a program of legislation, or else present it in such a way that little state-wide expression of opinion is secured. Provision is made for the technical preparation of legislation, but members do not take advantage sufficiently of the opportunities of assistance in this work, and are lacking in aggressiveness in running down independent information as a basis for their decisions. The committee system is fairly adequate, but here, as elsewhere, the committees may be informed when the houses are not. The lobby is probably the most important source of information or misinformation. The machinery proper for the enactment of laws is quite satisfactory. There is a large opportunity for discussion, little effort at sharp practices, and in general conditions exist which support the impression that the product of the legislative mill is not widely different from what it would be if the citizen body could be substituted for the official lawmakers. Probably, however, the product of a representative assembly ought to be better than that of a primary assembly.

Considerable assistance in the preparation of this description of the Nebraska legislature was rendered the writer by two of his students—Clevia Severs and Carter R. Battershell. Much of the statistical information was derived from the Blue Book of the state and the Legislative Manual, both of which are compiled by the Legislative Reference Bureau. Extensive interviews were obtained with leading legislators and newspapermen, and an extended questionnaire was delivered to each member late in the session to which eleven representatives and eight senators responded.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Architectural Control in Chicago Suburbs.—A number of the suburban towns around Chicago have, during the past two years, initiated some degree of unofficial control over the architecture of private buildings. This has been accomplished by the informal action of a volunteer committee which examines the plans for buildings when they are submitted to the building commissioner for construction permits. This procedure has been fairly successful, and has without doubt improved the architectural standards of these towns.

The village of Lake Bluff has gone one step further and enacted what we believe to be the first ordinance in this country which officially recognizes the necessity for some degree of community control over architecture and imposes certain architectural requirements on all construction. It is recognized that the legal foundation for such regulation is at best uncertain; but it is believed that the indications apparent in recent court decisions are making this foundation more secure, and, further, it is believed that these particular regulations, which are most reasonable and general, will never be questioned in the community.

The architectural control is exerted by the village plan commission of Lake Bluff, and the regulations are stated in the recently enacted building ordinance, as follows: "Every building shall be so designed and constructed as to be suitable from the architectural standpoint in its environment." The ordinance also provides that no building permit shall be issued until the village plan commission has had an opportunity to examine the plans, although a permit must be issued or refused within ten days from the filing of these plans. It is also specified that for any buildings, the design for which has been approved by the village plan commission, a placard shall be issued stating that the design of the proposed structure has received this formal approval. As the ordinance is drawn, the village plan commission can withhold its approval of the design of the building, but at the same time authorize the issuance of a building permit. In other words, where the design of the building is passable, but not good, and the village plan

commission is not able to get the design improved by persuading the owner to improve it, the actual construction may be permitted but the placard of approval withheld. When the owner realizes that all the other new buildings except his can display this placard, he will be inclined to rearrange his plans to secure this approval.

There is such a violent difference of opinion as to what constitutes good architecture in any given environment that regulations of this type are susceptible of only the most general and liberal application. They do, however, succeed in accomplishing two objectives of vital importance to the community which is genuinely concerned in the character of its new buildings. First, such regulations serve to prohibit entirely the occasional architectural monstrosity which creeps into every community; second, they stimulate a much greater and wider interest in matters of architectural standards in the town, and give formal notice to the prospective builder that the community intends to have good-looking buildings as well as good-looking streets and public places.

The whole movement represented by this new type of ordinance illustrates the transition of our towns from the primitive pioneer period to the period of community consciousness and community control of the future.

JACOB L. CRANE, JR.



How Zoning Prevents Blighted Districts.—What starts blighted districts? Before the days of zoning they started almost over night. A residence block or a bright group of small stores would be invaded by a large stable or garage, or by a junk yard, milk-bottling works or fume-producing factory. The well-to-do owners would sell out and go elsewhere. The old houses and stores would be reoccupied by people who would let them run down. The stores would be taken for small industries and would go from bad to worse. It was almost impossible to stay the decline of a blighted district when it once got started. Some property owners lost a fortune trying to do it. The blighted

district was usually started on its way by the invasion of one or more uses that were out of place in that particular locality.

Every part of the city was open to the exploiter. He could erect a building of any size, height or shape in any place and put it to any use however hurtful to the neighborhood. Sometimes it was storage of trucks in a good tenement district. Sometimes it was a six-story tenement in a locality of neat small cottages. Sometimes it was a metal factory in a home district. Frequently a varnish or paint works or some other nuisance factory would buy an acre or two of land in the suburbs and establish itself in the heart of what ought to become an area of small homes. When the growth of the city forced home building in that direction the good homes would avoid the factory. The surrounding twenty or more acres would be left vacant for a time and then perhaps built up with cheap and squalid structures.

The zoning plan put a stop to this chaotic building. Invasions of harmful buildings and uses were prevented. Business districts are protected against industry, apartment house districts against business, and cottage districts against apartment houses.

As an instance of zoning preventing blighted districts, the north side of Washington Square and parts of Greenwich Village are sometimes referred to. Before the zoning came, small industries and repair shops had begun to creep into and among the well-built private houses which had been deserted by their former tenants. Rents were low and everything appeared to be on the down grade. Then when zoning began in 1916 many of these streets were zoned as residential. There was an immediate brightening of the locality. The large homes were altered into studios and bachelor apartments. Now rents are good, the houses are well kept up and artists complain that they are being crowded out.

No blighted districts have begun in this city since the zoning was established, but, on the contrary, some that had begun have been re-deemed.

EDWARD M. BASSETT.



Health and Hospital Survey for Grand Rapids.

—A report on a health and hospital survey of Grand Rapids, Michigan, by Carl E. McCombs, M.D., of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, is now in preparation. The survey

was conducted under the auspices of a special survey committee of the Grand Rapids Welfare Union, which is the agency responsible for the collection and disbursement of the greater part of citizen contributions for the support of a large number of private health and welfare agencies.

The Welfare Union which has demonstrated in seven years of successful operation its value as the fiscal supervisor of the private health and welfare activities of the city has from its beginning realized the desirability of studying the question of co-operation health service in relation to highly specialized independent efforts of the many public and private health agencies of the city. The survey represents its effort to determine what the health status of the city is, and what can be done to develop through such co-operative effort a program of health service that will meet present and future needs more economically and efficiently.

Grand Rapids is only one of many cities where the need for co-operation for the public health is appreciated, but it is one of few cities where the spirit of co-operation is strong enough to further critical self analysis. The easiest way in every city is to "stand pat" on the existing order of things, but real health progress is only made when such spirit as Grand Rapids has evidenced by this survey dominates. Other cities confronted with like problems might well follow Grand Rapids' example, an example earlier set by the Framingham Health Demonstration, the New Haven Health Center Demonstration, the Cleveland Health and Hospital Survey, and other similar efforts to develop a community health program fitted to community health needs and embodying at the same time sound business principles.

No decision has yet been reached by the survey committee of the Welfare Union regarding publicity of the findings and recommendations of the survey. It is hoped that the committee will find it possible to make the report available to health workers generally. Inquiry regarding the survey and report should be addressed to Charles C. Stillman, Secretary of the Grand Rapids Welfare Union, 211 Shepard Building, Grand Rapids, Michigan.



Street Traffic in London.—A census of the traffic passing selected busy points shows a large increase during the last few years, in one case amounting to as much as 64 per cent over the figures for 1919. These figures serve to show

the increased difficulties of preventing congestion, as the available road widths to accommodate these heavy increases do not increase in anything approaching the same ratio.

A table showing the number of persons killed by accidents in the streets sets forth the total number of persons killed by day—510, and by night—165. Of this total number killed, 60 lost their lives from omnibuses, 35 from street cars, 25 from cabs, 176 from private motor cars, 39 from motor cycles, 315 from commercial vehicles, 22 from bicycles, 1 from horse, 1 from traction engine and 1 from private horse-drawn vehicle. Of the total number killed, 233 were under 15 years of age.

In the same period 20,736 persons were injured by day and 4,811 by night, the proportion as between the various classes of vehicles being much the same as in the case of those killed.

Among the prominent causes of accidents the following may be especially mentioned:

(1) Pedestrians knocked down and killed while crossing the street, etc., etc.

(2) Children riding on the connecting rod between tractor and trailer (26 in the year).

(3) Cycling in London, especially in streets where tram lines are laid.

Of the 492 pedestrians killed, a large proportion were in the carriageway either heedlessly or negligently.

With regard to children riding on the connecting rod, appropriate action has been taken by calling the special attention of the force to the matter, and by inviting the education authorities to impress the danger upon children.

The fatalities to cyclists have risen from 96 in 1921 to 113 in 1922, and it thus appears that now an average of over two cyclists are being killed every week. In a large percentage of cases the cause is skidding on tram lines.

The population of the metropolitan area according to the census of 1921 was 7,476,168.

✧

New York Transit Commission Reports on Growth of Traffic.—Passenger traffic upon the street railroad lines of New York city—the subways, the elevated lines and the trolley cars—is growing with tremendous rapidity, taxing the city's financial ability to keep in step with new facilities as they are needed. The rate of the growth of traffic, also, is almost continuously upward. What the future offers is explained by Commissioner LeRoy T. Harkness in the following statement:

On the average, day in and day out, 2,500 more people ride than rode the day before. This means an increase in the neighborhood of 150,000,000 more passengers per year—an increase in traffic almost equal to the total traffic of a city like Buffalo. Unless the lack of facilities chokes traffic there is indicated ten years hence the almost incredible figure of four billion passengers a year using the transportation facilities in New York city. It was in the light of these figures that the transit commission stated that to meet the present and future needs a consistent building policy of spending \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 a year on new subways should be adopted and followed.

New York's street railway system started business in 1832, when the first horse car rattled and jangled its way along Fourth Avenue in competition with the Broadway buses. There is no accurate record of the passengers carried in those early years. It was about 1860 that the keeping of reliable records was begun. These show that in the 28 years from 1832 the horse car companies had acquired and were operating 662 cars and carried in 1860 a total of 50,830,173 passengers. Twenty years later with cable cars substituted for horse cars in some cases, notably on Broadway, the figures showed a total of 4,308 cable and horse cars and an annual traffic of 290,417,023. There was at that time a claimed investment in railroad properties of \$60,000,000—a large capital figure 40 years ago.

By 1900, the year when ground was broken for the first subway in New York, the elevated railroads, trolley, cable and horse car lines had a total of 8,275 cars, carried 846,353,058 passengers, and claimed an investment of \$388,750,000.

The year 1920 marked the end of a period of enormous transit expansion through the construction of the first subway, its Brooklyn extension, the Centre Street Loop, the Fourth Avenue Subway, and most of the new lines and extensions of the Dual system, including the East and West Side Subways and the numerous elevated railroad improvements. The close of the second decade of the twentieth century found the transit systems of New York city with a total of 12,835 subway, elevated and trolley cars. Horse cars outlived the cable cars, but finally the last of them left the streets of New York in 1917. In 1920 there was carried a traffic of 2,273,336,533 passengers. This figure leaves out of consideration the traffic of the Hudson Tubes which in 1920 carried more than 90,000,000 passengers between New York and New Jersey. In this year there were outstanding transit securities in excess of a billion dollars.

✧

Proposed Survey of Federal Building Needs.—The delay in organizing the Sixty-eighth Congress has in no way obstructed the flood of bills authorizing the purchase of sites and erection or remodeling of federal buildings in village and hamlet and town throughout the length and breadth of this fair land of ours. Moreover,

there already falls the shadow of the omnibus bill to distribute these prizes to the Congressional districts with impartial generosity. The proposal of the American Institute of Architects to establish a commission which shall survey the federal building needs of Washington and the Nation and make recommendations based on actual conditions comes as a constructive suggestion which would promise economy without penuriousness and appropriate buildings without unnecessary expenditure of the trust funds of the people. There is undoubtedly great need for federal buildings in many parts of the country, but the needs should be ascertained in order that the most pressing demands could be met first. Such a survey which would ascertain present and prospective needs over a period of years would permit an intelligent budgeting of expenses to be absorbed into the general estimates approved by the bureau of the budget. The real test of the ability of the director of the budget to effect actual savings will come when it is demonstrated that improvements on rivers and harbors and building of post offices are planned and carried out with the same care and economy that would be exercised by a private corporation desiring to

conserve its funds. This is no argument for the neglect of the manifest duty of the officials of the federal government to house properly its activities; it is a plea for business-like methods in ascertaining and meeting the needs of the country.

✦ HARLEAN JAMES.

Zoning Makes Rapid Progress.—Zoning ordinances have been adopted by 183 municipalities throughout the United States, according to information obtained by the division of building and housing of the department of commerce. The total population of these municipalities is in the neighborhood of 22,000,000. This shows an increase of 100 per cent over the figures for September, 1921, when the total population of zoned municipalities was 11,000,000. The division's complete list of zoned municipalities, with details as to the date and character of the ordinances, is given below, together with references to the legislation in different states under which zoning is authorized.

New Jersey leads in the number of cities and villages zoned with a total of fifty-one. New York is second with thirty, and Illinois third with twenty-three.

II. MISCELLANEOUS

The Second International Congress of Public Administration.—Thirteen years ago the Belgian Government invited the nations of the world to send delegates to a congress to be held at Brussels to consider problems of administration. This important conference resulted in the publication of five volumes of proceedings and in the inauguration of a permanent international committee to carry on until the following congress, planned to meet in 1914. Owing to the war no steps were taken to resume these meetings until 1923.

In the words of the invitation sent for the second congress held at Brussels September 13 to 16, "Since the first Congress the importance of administrative methods has continued to increase. During the war and since the treaty of Versailles, states, provinces, cities and communes have assumed new duties and have considerably increased their powers in many fields. The necessity of good administrative methods has been strongly felt, and eminent men like Fayol, Solvay, Taylor, have recently elaborated the principles which ought to govern administration. The improvement of methods of administration is being studied in every country."

The second congress was held in the *Palais des Académies*, and in conjunction with its sessions there was an exhibit of forms and documents used in administration in the *Palais Mondiale*. The agenda had been carefully drawn up and papers submitted on the various topics proposed, all of which were in printed form for the use of the delegates.

Most of the delegations were official. The invitations were extended through diplomatic channels and the delegates selected by the government. The English and American delegations were, however, unofficial, the former consisting of members of the Society of Civil Servants, the latter of ex-President Barrows of the University of California and the present writer. The delegates were usually high *fonctionnaires* although in many cases members of the government and of the national legislatures were in attendance. Thus to mention only a few of the two hundred delegates, the French delegation included two prefects, several inspectors and an underdirector in the department of the interior; the Italian delegation a member of the ministry and a delegate of the Association of Italian

Communes; the Spanish delegation the president of the Chamber of Deputies and representatives of many departments; the Hungarian delegation the minister of interior and the undersecretary of state; and the Roumanian delegation the vice-president of the senate. Nearly every country except Austria and Germany was represented, the Belgian delegation naturally being the largest, and including the minister of agriculture, M. de Vuyst, who acts as general secretary, the burgermeister of brussels, and several *fonctionnaires* from each ministry.

The work of the congress was chiefly carried on through its five sections, devoted respectively to local administration, administration intermediate between the state and the communes, central administration, documentation, and the improvement of administrative methods. The general opening session was addressed by M. Fayol, the leading continental exponent of *la doctrine administrative*, who summarized his theory in an admirable speech followed by an exchange of felicitations from several foreign delegations.

The agenda of each section was somewhat overcrowded and the discussions were frequently cut short by the lack of time. The method of procedure was well adapted to secure specific conclusions. After a brief oral presentation of papers written in connection with the assigned topics, each question was thrown open for discussion. The discussion was frequently animated and occasionally controversial, although on fundamentals the delegates were always in harmony, reflecting the view of the high-grade administrator represented in England by the former first division clerks. Following the general discussion came the formulation of a *voeu* or resolution whose terms were debated and finally accepted with such modifications as seemed wise to the section. These resolutions were eventually presented to the full congress at its final session for approval.

Space will not permit detailed description of these resolutions. The papers and proceedings may be obtained from M. P. de Vuyst, 22 Avenue de l'Yser, Brussels, for fifty francs. The more important resolutions approved the establishment of administrative courts to protect local administrations from encroachment by central governments, urged reform in the light of business experience and by co-operation of public officials with business men and students of administration, made plans for the extension of bibliographical enterprises and for improvement

in methods of documentation, and advocated statutory definition of the rights and obligations of officials, recognizing the right of association but denying the right of strike. These resolutions have effect, of course, only to the extent adopted by the governments of the states concerned.

The value of the congress seems to lie not so much in the invention of new administrative devices as in the consideration of underlying principles and in the interchange of views by those engaged both in the practice and study of administration.

The congress represents an important international movement. Its permanent organization is found in an International Commission with headquarters at Brussels. Each state is entitled to representation, and is urged to form a national centre to keep in touch with the International Commission. Steps are now under way to form a representative committee in the United States whose functions would be to co-operate in the work of the congress, to ensure adequate American representation in the next congress which meets in Paris in 1926, and to push forward the work in bibliography and documentation.

LEONARD D. WHITE.

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The University of Michigan Course in Municipal Administration.—The Graduate School of the University of Michigan has just issued a new announcement of its course in municipal administration. This course was organized for the purpose of training men and women for the administrative service of cities and other public and quasi-public agencies. It has now been in operation for several years and its graduates are filling numerous positions as city managers, in bureaus of municipal research, chambers of commerce, and in other community agencies. Several departments of the University co-operate in offering the necessary courses, *i.e.*, economics, engineering, hygiene and public health, landscape design, law, political science, and sociology. The course leads to the degrees of master of arts or master of science in municipal administration. Students are accepted who have taken the bachelor's degree in literature or in civil and sanitary engineering. It is understood that the undergraduate work must include American government, elements of economics, and municipal government, besides sufficient mathematics, accounting, and natural

science to enable them to pursue the work required for the degree. The course consists of one year's work of from 30 to 32 semester hours, and three months' actual experience in the field. The program of study includes courses in municipal administration, administrative law, municipal corporations, public finance, municipal finance, water works, city sewerage and drainage, roads and pavements, and a number of electives which varies in accordance with the previous preparation of the candidate. Special students who are not university graduates may be admitted to the course in the discretion of the committee in charge. Of this committee Professor Thomas H. Reed of the department of political science is chairman.



The Training School for Public Service, organized and conducted by the Women's Municipal League of Boston and the National Civic Federation, is in its third year with fresh guarantees of the soundness of its policy and with stronger conviction of the importance of the need that it aims to meet.

Having in mind ultimately a plan for providing courses of training for every type of position to which women are admitted under the civil service, the program of the Training School is for the moment limited to preparation for positions of policewomen, school attendance officers and sanitary inspectors, to which positions women are being called in larger and larger numbers.

Registration is limited to women of mature age, with high school training or its equivalent, who have been tested out as to capacity in some form of work with a human interest. For persons who want to carry the course while they are employed through the day the schedule of hours for lectures and conferences is arranged for the late afternoon and early evening, extending from October to June. For those who wish to do more intensive work special schedules will be arranged. Fee for the regular course is \$50.

This year the curriculum is carried on in close affiliation with Simmons College School of Social Work where courses in municipal government, social work and related subjects will be given. Special stress is placed upon field work, for which the city offers many opportunities; while lectures

and conferences are given by experts from the city's public departments, nearby universities and technical schools, and from the field of social work.

A new step taken this year in the offering of special scholarships to communities that want to secure for selected candidates opportunity for study and training of this sort to fit them for immediate service in their own communities.

The work is classified into three general divisions: (a) The policewoman course; (b) school attendance officer course; (c) sanitary inspection course.



Los Angeles Retains Planning Consultants.—Frederick Law Olmsted of New York, Harland Bartholomew of St. Louis, and Charles Cheney of Los Angeles, have been retained by the traffic commission of the city and county of Los Angeles to act as a consulting board. This board of experts will review all street-opening and widening projects and then make a traffic street plan for metropolitan Los Angeles.

The employment of three of America's best known city planners promises well for the future of the California metropolis. The traffic commission is one of Los Angeles' most powerful civic organizations and is to be congratulated upon the wisdom shown in the selection of this board.



The Bureau of Public Personnel Administration has begun the publication of *Public Personnel Studies*. Two numbers have been issued, both from the pen of Dr. L. L. Thurstone. The first is entitled A Comparative Study of Clerical Tests; and the second, Intelligence Tests in the Civil Service. The address of the Bureau is 26 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.



Annual Meeting of Political Science Association.—The nineteenth annual meeting of the American Political Science Association was held at Columbus, Ohio, December 27 to 29. A full program included papers on Cleveland's experience with proportional representation, comparable municipal statistics, problems in county government, and financial and administrative control in state government.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION NOTES

EDITED BY ARCH MANDEL

Cincinnati and Hamilton County To Be Surveyed.—Dr. Lent D. Upson, director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, has been placed in charge of an investigation of the governments of the city of Cincinnati and Hamilton county, to be made by a citizens' committee, appointed by the Republican County Committee. This investigation will probably continue for four months and will engage the services of fifteen or twenty specialists in governmental fields. Dr. Upson has been granted a leave of absence for half time without pay by the trustees of the Detroit Bureau for the purpose of taking general charge of the work.

This investigation is one of the most unusual of its kind that has ever been made of an American city. Owing to criticisms, the Republican County Committee has invited a group of prominent citizens of Cincinnati to review all of the governmental units within the county and make public a report of their suggestions as to improving methods and of securing greater economy and efficiency in administration.

During the past few years the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research has undertaken considerable work of this character, always being fully compensated for these tasks. Recently the Bureau has been jointly responsible for surveys of the government of the state of Ohio for the Joint Legislative Committee, and of the state of Virginia for the Governor; for the installation of budget procedure in the states of Virginia and South Carolina; for surveys and installations of procedure in the cities of Kalamazoo, Flint, Alma, certain suburbs of Pittsburgh, Manchester, N. H., and elsewhere.

Harold W. Baker, engineer of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research since 1921, was appointed commissioner of public works of the city of Rochester. He assumed his new duties on January first. In making this appointment the mayor apparently shocked the politicians, but he is to be commended for making merit the basis of his selection. The selection of Mr. Baker is not only a tribute to him and to the

standing of the Rochester Bureau in its community, but may be considered a compliment to the entire research group.

Apropos this appointment, the following statement, appearing in *All's Well*, Charles J. Finger's magazine, the successor to *Reedy's Mirror*, may be quoted: "Were I dictator, called on suddenly to choose a provisional committee endowed with autocratic powers to run the country, I think I'd hand matters over to these (municipal researchers) for a start." This statement reflects the opinion of Mr. Finger after he had what he called an "exhilarating experience" in meeting a number of members of the staff of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

Ray W. Wilson, for two and a half years the accountant of the Kansas City Public Service Institute, resigned this position to become civic secretary of the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce. Jess Seaton is Mr. Wilson's successor.

Jess M. Worley was added to the staff of the Kansas City Public Service Institute for membership and publicity work.

R. P. Farley, one-time director of the Citizens Bureau of Winnipeg, is now connected with the Boston Dispensary, 25 Bennet Street.

Luther Gulick and E. T. Paxton have completed the draft of the new constitution for the Governmental Research Association. In due time a copy will be sent to each member of the organization for comment and criticism.

S. M. Chambers, after spending several months as publicity director for the Duluth Community Fund, resumed his former duties with the Taxpayers' League of St. Louis County, Minnesota, which are to visit prospective and actual members of the League and to tell them at first hand of the work of the organization. This method is apparently successful, for up to December 1, 1923, the League had 600 sub-

scribers who contributed a total of \$15,000. The budget of the League for the current year beginning August 1, is \$20,000.

Membership in the League is based on a contribution of one per cent of the amount of taxes paid by any individual, firm or corporation. To determine the amount which subscribers should pay, the tax duplicates were reviewed and the name and amount of every taxpayer who paid in excess of \$1,000 were listed. As soon as the larger taxpayers are secured as members, the League will make an effort to enlarge the support of the smaller taxpayers.

W. E. Mosher of the National Institute of Public Administration is making a salary standardization study of county employes of Oneida county, New York.

R. E. Miles, director of the Ohio Institute of Public Efficiency, was elected to fill the vacancy on the executive committee of the Governmental Research Association, caused by the resignation of Fred P. Gruenberg. Mr. Miles' selection came as a result of the recounting of the ballots submitted last June, when the members of the executive committee were chosen at the regular annual election.

Jesse D. Burks resigned his position as director of the Bureau of Municipal Research of St. Louis. C. W. Atkins, a member of the staff, was promoted to succeed Dr. Burks.

Leonard V. Harrison, formerly of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, more recently attached to the staff of the General Educational Board, has been appointed secretary of the civic affairs department of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, succeeding Mr. G. M. Shotwell.

The civic affairs department was formerly the Bureau of Municipal Research maintained by the Chamber.

Gaylord C. Cummin, until recently associated with the Institute for Public Service of New York City, has established an independent office as

civic consultant. Mr. Cummin will specialize in the New England field. His present address is 10 Wood Street, Concord, Mass., and it is expected that a Boston office will be opened shortly.

Fred C. Gruenberg, for ten years staff member and later director of the Philadelphia Bureau and member of the executive committee of the Governmental Research Conference, has resigned his position with the Philadelphia organization to enter the banking field. His resignation is regretted not only by his local organization, but by all the members of the Governmental Research group, because Mr. Gruenberg's withdrawal from the field means the loss of one of its ablest men.

William C. Beyer is acting director until a permanent head is chosen.

The National Institute of Public Administration is making a number of important studies in taxation for the New York State Legislative Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment. Among these are forest taxation which is being handled by Philip H. Cornick; taxation of insurance companies under the direction of A. E. Buck, and the question of interstate apportionment of taxes on public utilities by Luther Gulick.

At the Citizenship School conducted by the New Jersey League of Women Voters in Newark, N. J., during November, the leading speakers were Raymond Moley, formerly of the Cleveland Foundation, now professor at Columbia University, Harold W. Dodds, Luther Gulick and Sedley H. Phinney.

Dr. Charles A. Beard, who went to Japan as the representative of the National Institute of Public Administration and at the request of the Japanese Government to assist in reconstruction work, has returned to the United States.

Bruce Smith has returned from Canada, where he has been in connection with a study of state police administration which the National Institute of Public Administration is making.

AMERICAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION NOTES

EDITED BY HARLEAN JAMES, SECRETARY

Report of the Washington Committee on the Federal City.—On the evening of January 3, in the hall of the Cosmos Club, the Washington Committee on the Federal City met as a whole to adopt the preliminary report prepared by the various sub-committees on special subjects. After the formal adoption of the preliminary reports by the committee, Mr. Frederic A. Delano, chairman, presented the report to Mr. J. Horace McFarland, president of the American Civic Association.

The report is valuable, first, because of the information concerning the present situation which it contains, and, second, because of the recommendations which it makes to remedy existing evils. In the foreword Mr. Delano directs attention to the following basic considerations:

1. Just as the founders looked forward one hundred years in their planning, so we must look forward. Correcting past errors is expensive. Intelligent planning for the future is economy. Some machinery adequate for such planning should be set up.

2. This Federal City was set amidst hills and valleys that were notable for their trees and shrubbery of a remarkable variety. If that condition is to continue in the future, ample reservations for forests and parks should be made. Other cities in our country are far in advance of Washington in these respects.

In addition to the basic need for comprehensive and progressive planning, the Committee on Architecture and Its Relation to the Nation's Capital makes a plea for worthy architecture in public, private and semi-public buildings, through the extension of the work of the Architect's Advisory Council already in operation, through the proposed architect's registration law (Senate bill 933) and through representation of architects on various commissions. The Committee on Forest and Park Reserves advocates the passage of the proposed bill to provide for a comprehensive development of the park and playground system of the National Capital (S. 112, H. R. 49) as the best means of insuring the proper growth of the parks and playgrounds of the district to meet the needs of a rapidly growing community.

The Committee on School Sites and Play-

grounds recommends the acquisition of school sites with ample playgrounds to provide for the near future, and lays special stress on the wisdom of acquiring school sites in advance of the population in those parts of the District not yet built up. The Committee points out the needs for play spaces for the children of different ages and for more extension sports fields and athletic grounds.

The Committee on Housing and Reservations for Future Housing recommends:

1. That as plans for future housing must depend upon and be co-ordinated with the work of zoning, park development, and city planning, it is desirable at the outset that there shall be a thorough co-operation of various interested committees, and that estimates be prepared of the amount of land still within the metropolitan district acceptable for housing purposes.

2. That a committee of representative buildings be invited to discuss the establishment of definite standards of construction, guaranteed perhaps by trade-mark such as those used by manufacturers in other lines; providing further, that only subscribers to these standards be permitted to use the trade-mark.

The Committee on Street, Highway and Transit Problems outlines the present situation and presents the following conclusions:

1. That changes such as suggested with some detail in the body of the report should be made as rapidly as the funds can be made available. Also that the details of a well co-ordinated future scheme of development must be worked out through technical studies continuously carried on by competent authorities; in other words, not only must we plan for existing contingencies, but we must plan for future needs.

2. The committee is convinced that the transit and traffic needs of the community have already outrun the provisions for meeting them, and there have not been sufficient appropriations in the past either to permit a thorough study of the situation or the timely execution of even such plans as have been adopted. It is therefore urged that the needs of the situation be brought to the attention of Congress with a view to action that will bring Washington's street, highway and transit facilities to a state of adequate and balanced development.

The Committee on Extensions of Metropolitan Washington beyond the District Line recommends the acquirement of the upper valley to

protect the waters of Rock Creek. Similar protection of the streams of the Patapsco, the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers is recommended in connection with the development of a forest park system between Baltimore and Washington. It is recommended that the banks of the Potomac from Alexandria to Great Falls be secured for park and forest reserves. The Committee recommends an initial appropriation for the construction of the proposed Memorial Bridge which will connect the Lincoln Memorial with Arlington. The Committee recommends that suitable approaches be provided at the Virginia entrance of the Francis Scott Key bridge which crosses the Potomac at Georgetown. Finally the Committee recommends the construction of a memorial road near the river from Washington to Mount Vernon.

The Committee on Water Front Development recommends congressional action directing a thorough study and report by competent officials of the development of the water front already owned by the government.

Copies of the Report may be secured from the office of the American Civic Association.



London Also Seeking a Plan.—In the supplement of the November Journal of the London Society, whose aim is to "stimulate a wider concern for the beauty of the capital city, the preservation of its charms, and the careful consideration of its developments," the "Need of a Plan for London" is set forth.

The vision of the region around London as a well-planned location of happy homes and a better working centre for millions of men and women grasps the imagination. A definite plan for its accomplishment may be only an ideal, but a people without ideals degenerates, which one with practical ideals is already on the road to attain them. . . . The unequal distribution of open spaces, playgrounds and parks, the congestion of streets, the misery of slum and tenement life and its repercussions upon each new generation, are an untold charge against our national life. Out cities do not produce their full contribution to the sinews of our life and character. The moral and social issues can only be solved by a new conception of city building.

The London Society is preparing "User" maps, of which examples are being exhibited. The Society states that the Zoning Plans will be published, if the cost does not prove prohibitive, and anyone who desires copies or who would like further information on the subject is requested

to communicate with the Secretary, The London Society, 27 Abingdon Street S. W. 1.



Portland, Oregon, to Have an Art Commission.—Under a recent law the city of Portland will have an art commission, consisting of the mayor and seven other members, one to be chosen from the Portland Art Association, one from the Portland Art Class, one from the Arts and Crafts Society, one from the School Art League, one from the American Society of Civil Engineers, one from the American Institute of Architects, and one to be a professional landscape architect. The commission "shall be advisory to the council in matters concerning works of art now owned or hereafter acquired by the City of Portland."

Portland has certainly taken an important step in the creation of this art commission. There are other steps which will no doubt follow in due time.



Railroad Crossings.—The Municipal League of Harrisburg has issued an interesting folder on railroad crossings in Harrisburg. While the discussion is of local conditions, the principles apply to many other cities. City planners who are interested in methods of presenting the problem to the public may care to secure copies which are available at the office of the American Civic Association.



Billboards on State Highways.—A law has recently gone into effect in Minnesota prohibiting billboards and other advertising signs on state highways. The state highway commission of Indiana by regulation prohibited billboards on the state highways, and after due notice confiscated such signs as had not been removed by the owners. In Maryland a bill is to be introduced into the next legislature to prohibit road signs along the state highways without permission of the road commissioner, since it is said by the state roads commissioner that the Maryland constitution would not permit a law similar to the Minnesota law. But the public opinion which demands protection from misleading road information and unsightly billboards is registering in many states. The Maryland state roads commissioner complains that incorrect mileage signs put up by advertisers are a nuisance. He calls attention to one famous sign, showing a picture of a traffic policeman holding a red flag with the words "Stop! Sharp curve ahead," placed at a point on the road where there is no

sharp curve. Attention has been called before in these columns to the menace to safety which such advertising signs bring. It is next to impossible for a driver to pick out the true official warnings and road directions from a mass of advertising signs which seek to claim the attention by pretending to give road warnings and directions.

Now that the states are falling in line in abolition of billboards from state highways, we may well ask which will be the first state to prohibit billboards on private property adjoining the highways. The road sign confusion is not very great in the signs which do not encroach on the highway, but they do destroy the beauty of the landscape. Presumably a large proportion of the traffic on state highways these days is pleasure traffic. Pleasure traffic is drawn to regions where rivers, mountains, hills or meadows present unobstructed views. The day will come when it will be recognized as bad business on the part of the merchants in any locality to put a premium on the through traveler, since pleasure parties do not linger in regions made unsightly by the billboard.

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Zoning in Philadelphia.—On November 1, according to the bulletin, *Citizens' Business*, published by the Bureau of Municipal Research, the council of Philadelphia passed a resolution providing for the appointment by the president of the council of an advisory committee on zoning, to consist of one councilman from each of eight districts and representatives from a number of business and professional organizations. Seven years have passed since the mayor appointed the first zoning commission under an authority of a resolution of the council.

But the zoning ordinance which was drafted by this commission failed to pass the council before it went out of existence. In the meantime a new city charter had been adopted and a second commission was appointed. It drafted a zoning ordinance for the entire city and forwarded it to the mayor, but the committee of the council to which the ordinance was referred passed a motion to eliminate the area of the old city. The ordinance was returned to the zoning commission for revision and the commission, at the request of the council, submitted a zoning ordinance for West Philadelphia which was not reported out of committee.

Since the zoning problem was first taken up in Philadelphia, New York and Chicago have both passed comprehensive zoning laws. In fact it is easier to name the important cities which have not undertaken zoning regulations than it is to enumerate those which have been zoned. Many of the questions raised in 1916 have been satisfactorily answered by the experience of other cities, and certainly the bugaboo of the constitutionality of zoning has been definitely laid to rest by the Little Rock case which removed the principle of zoning from the meaning of the fourteenth amendment.

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Housing Conference in Philadelphia.—The National Housing Association, in co-operation with the American Construction Council, the Associated General Contractors of America, the American Federation of Labor, The United States Department of Labor, the United States Department of Commerce, the National Association of Builders' Exchanges, the National Conference on City Planning, the American Civic Association, the National Municipal League, and the U. S. League Local Building and Loan Associations, held a most interesting conference on December 5, 6 and 7. The conference may be said to have been called to "lift the blockade on housing." The "blurb" issued with the program made interesting reading:

No houses are being built to-day for the working-man.

Because to-day it costs from \$5,000 to \$8,000 to build a \$3,000 house.

The three factors in the situation are:

The high cost of *Labor*, of *Materials*, of *Money*.

Is Labor Profiteering?

Should all workmen get \$25 a day like the plasterers?

Are the bankers also profiteering?

By charging premiums and commissions?

Is there a combine to control prices of materials?

Learn how the banks can aid housing.

Learn how costs of materials can be reduced.

By new Processes, new Methods—by Standardization.

By getting rid of obsolete Plumbing and Building Codes.

Learn how the architect can reduce costs.

By new ideas in designing houses.

What is the way out?

Who is to build for the Workingman?

The Government? The Speculative Building?

The Employer?